

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
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Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 59



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 59

SERIALS 4261-4349

(March-April 1964)

Section 59

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Memorandum

DATE: 6-18-64

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High. vol. 61

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Date: 4-10-64

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41040)
 SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED
 IS-X; RACIAL MATTERS
 OO: NEW YORK

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 3/27/64, captioned "NATION OF ISLAM; IS-NOI," stating that among other things MALCOLM X would appear on "KUP's" Show, Channel 7 TV, Chicago, Illinois, on 3/28/64, which is a local TV panel show moderated by IRV KUPCINET, a Chicago TV personality and newspaper columnist.

This telecast was tape recorded by SA [REDACTED] of the Chicago Office. Enclosed for the Bureau are four (4) copies of the taped transcription. Two (2) copies are enclosed for the New York Office.

This information is not being set forth in letterhead memorandum form as it contains information which MALCOLM X has previously publicly stated or stated in press conferences which has previously been set forth in a letterhead memorandum. No new information of any pertinence appears to be contained in the enclosed recordings. It is noted that United States Senator PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois also appeared as a panelist on the above show.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 - (1 - 25-330971) (NOI)
- ④ - New York (100-152759) (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 105-7809) (NOI)
 - ① - 105-8999 (MALCOLM X)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

(10)

105-8999-4368
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 APR 11 1964
 FBI-NEW YORK

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 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

DATE 1/25/84 BY 8269 THE/WEA/DO

IRV KUPCINET SHOW, SATURDAY, MARCH 28-29, 1964

KUPCINET: Tonight on our panel we have MALCOLM X, the Number 2 man in the Black Muslims and the most controversial figure in the nation today; VANCE PACKARD, Journalist; Senator PAUL DOUGLAS; WILLIAM ROBERT MING, Jr., Attorney and prominent Chicago civic leader; and RICHARD KIM, Novelist.

KUPCINET: MALCOLM, how do you feel about this civil rights legislation? You've taken a strong and elegant stand on many of the issues today when you see a man like Senator DOUGLAS who is bending every effort as are many many citizens of this country of both black and white. Would you feel that this cause has somewhat weakened your overall charge against the white race?

MALCOLM X: Well, the talk about civil rights legislation and bringing civil rights legislation into existence are two different things. I was in Washington, I think it was Thursday, I listened to the debate that was taking place and for a debate to take place in 1964 in a country that's supposed to be for freedom and justice and equality for all of its citizens the debate in itself doesn't look too good for Uncle Sam. It shouldn't even exist. There shouldn't be any preliminary battle. The freedom should already be a living thing for everybody in the country especially when Uncle Sam today is referring to himself as the leader of the free world. It just doesn't exist.

KUPCINET: Well we know that there is a great evil. (Inaudible) You belong to an organization so-called the Black Muslims, the Islam Faith, that condemns practically all white people.

MALCOLM X: I wouldn't say, you can't use the word condemn, let's say that an analysis (inaudible) education that exists in America and that the analysis in itself is condemnation now instead of the whites as you say referring to

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us in a language that makes it look like we're condemning them, what they should do is remove these injustices. But, instead of removing the injustices they hide behind labels that they attempt to put on us.

KUPCINET:

The point I want to get at is that there are so many people working for the civil rights legislation who are trying to bring some justice into this problem and yet the so-called Black Muslim Faith condemns, unless you got word because ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, is on record as saying that all whites are devils. Yet many many people like Senator PAUL DOUGLAS who reflects his views and whose views reflect.....

Senator DOUGLAS: Well let me say right off that as a white man I do not feel it proper to condemn Negroes for their feelings, and I do not feel it proper to condemn Mr. MALCOLM X for the way he feels. I want to make that very clear. I don't think we have any right to condemn him. We only hope that some of us can demonstrate by our actions just how, I'll put it that way without going into fancy language, we hope that we can demonstrate by our actions that we're sincere that's all.

MALCOLM X:

This is a good point that he has made because in the Koran, which is the Bible of Islam it instructs the Muslim to judge a man by his conscience behavior, by his intention and you will find that one is within one's right when one judges another person by his conscience behavior, by his intention and then on the other hand I don't think you can justifiably get excited over the tendency on the part of Negroes in this country today to be very much disillusioned and disappointed and suspicious of a lot of talk when no action follows that talk.

KUPCINET:

The point I want to emphasize or still get at is the fact that there are many millions of white people I would say who are as concerned about this problem as you are and who are probably doing more to reach an equitable solution and I think that the Black Muslims failed to recognize that and give credit where the credit is due.

MALCOLM X:

Still I don't think that the burden is on the Muslims.

KUPCINET:

I think it is because of the breach they are bringing about by calling all white people devils.

MALCOLM X:

No I don't think that you should accuse Muslims of bringing about a breach especially since I was in the Senate Thursday and listened to Senator DIRKSEN I think it was, from this State right here who came out very violently against the civil rights legislation and so now he is doing more to bring about a breach than I am. I'm just telling you the injustice that exists and I'm pointing out the ones who are responsible for this injustice. I think that it's only fair that when your house is on fire and someone comes and tells you that it's on fire that you don't accuse him of setting it on fire.

KUPCINET:

If you point out individuals splendid, but to use a brush and tar everybody by saying all white people are devils then I think the Black Muslims are doing a disservice to the entire community.

MALCOLM X:

Mr. KUPCINET!

KUPCINET:

Mr. X, you can call me Mr. X.

MALCOLM X:

All right, 2X.

MALCOLM X:

What the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has done is actually analyzed the problem in such a way to make whites as well as blacks see that no matter what position a black man in this country reaches, intellectually, professionally or otherwise, he still is hampered by the color of his skin. For example, RALPH BUNCH, when he went to Atlanta, Georgia, was segregated by some hotel owners. Another example, Congressman DIGGS of Detroit, Michigan, was in a house that was bombed in Mississippi. I'll say this, that no matter how high a Negro in this country rises he is still held and checked by the color of his skin, collectively he is one of the victims. Just as our people are victims collectively no matter what our intellectual or professional ability is I think that our being a collective victim should make whites see that collectively their guilty. It rests upon them to solve this problem. It doesn't rest upon me to defend them.

MING:

At the risk of interfering in a private fight I think that both of you are oversimplifying the problem by this insistence of dividing the whole world, or at least the United States, into white and black. It isn't so much that I particularly object to your calling American Negroes black even though very few of them are and I know very few white people, if any, as a matter of fact the whitest people I know are Negroes but that's another (inaudible). Well both ways MALCOLM. In fact some of the blackest ones I know are white. I think that if you limited us as I guess you were doing this problem of assignment of guilt which MALCOLM is doing and your problem of trying to point out that everybody isn't guilty. It's sort of self-defeating, isn't it? Certainly Negroes didn't enslave themselves though there were African and Arabic slave traders who sold them to be brought to the United States and other places, so that if you start trying to trace this matter of guilt in terms of skin color I think you do violence

to history, to anthropology, to psychology and to everything else. If on the other hand, and I don't understand MALCOLM to be saying differently, if your saying that there are many people in the United States who ethnically, whatever that means, are classified as white who don't approve of the discrimination and the segregation against people because of their color then obviously your right. Then MALCOLM is also right that the mere fact that they don't approve of it doesn't make it go away.

KUPCINET: Nobody said it does and most of us recognize the serious problem we have. But the fact that I'm trying to make is that there are so many people trying to help in this cause, whereas the Black Muslims sweep everybody aside and say all white men are devils. That's the one thing that I object to.

MING: In defense of the Muslims I think if the press would stop using the adjective black, because there are a few white Muslims.....

KUPCINET: In this country? Members of this same organization?

MING: Well I don't know about being members of the organization of which MALCOLM, I guess your still a member even if you.....

MALCOLM X: I'm a Muslim, I'm a member of the Nation of Islam.

MING: That's what I assume. There are you know at least as many sects of Islam as there are of Christianity, perhaps more.

Senator DOUGLAS: May I interject here?

KUPCINET: Pardon me, may I interject for just a moment. We have to pause here for a message and we'll come right back to the Senator.

Senator DOUGLAS: I can understand Mr. MUHAMMAD X's feelings about the white race and about Christianity and may I say very frankly that I think conscientious Christians have a fear of guilt but I'm somewhat puzzled by the fact that Mr. MALCOLM X and others embrace Muhammadism and Islamism because as Mr. MING said the worst slave traders in Africa were the Arab slave traders, the most brutal, cruel people you can possibly imagine and they would buy up the Negroes from Central Africa and take them to the shipping ports in compounds on the coast then the nations which have perpetuated slavery and slave trade down into modern times have been the Arabic Muhammadan nations, notably Saudi Arabia where I think slavery still exists so if Mr. MALCOLM X repudiates Christianity I think he's going to be compelled to repudiate Muhammadism.

MALCOLM X:

There's a story in the Christian Bible as well as in the Muslim Bible about JOSEPH who was sold into slavery by his own brothers and he finally ended up in the land of Egypt and he became ruler over that land where he had been sold as a slave, and he turned around and forgave his brothers who sold him into bondage but I don't know whether or not he forgave the ones who purchased him. The so-called Negro in this country's history runs parallel with that. It's true that the Arabs had a hand in selling many of our people into slavery and the Arabs have paid for it, they lost their civilization. At the time slavery was being carried on the Arabs had a tremendous culture in the tremendous civilization, tremendous empire, and the part that they played in this very criminal act against our people in Africa brought about the downfall of the Arab Empire, the breakup of the Arab Empire. Just as the (inaudible) in the European nations had a hand in the colonization of Africa after it was weakened by slavery and they are paying for the part that they played. The only country left on this earth who has yet to pay for the part that it played in slavery is America.

NING: What about Saudi Arabia, it still has slavery.

MALCOLM X: Saudi Arabia has also paid. It's a backward country wherein it used to be part of a vast empire that stretched probably from the China Seas to the shores of West Africa. Today it has no voice or strength whatsoever.

NING: MALCOLM your history and geography are badly confused. Saudi Arabia never was that important.

MALCOLM X: It was important because as part of the Muslim world and as the center of religious.....

NING: Well of course if you describe the cult of the Muslim world as having dwindled down to Saudi Arabia then what do you do with the rest of the Muslim states like Pakistan?

MALCOLM X: Once there was a Muslim empire that was monolithic, stretching from the (inaudible). The point I'm making is in those days there was one vast empire stretching from Asia to Africa and at that time Mecca was still the Holy City, it was the vocal point of Islam, it was the place to which all other Muslims desired to journey and since slavery it has broken up into many different factions and divisions and they don't have the power that they had at that time. In my opinion they have paid the price for the part that they had in enslaving our people.

NING: I hope you forgive me if I make this comment. Do you take for yourself the divine power of judgment as to when a nation or race has fully paid for its past misbehavior?

MALCOLM X: No.

NING: And punishment according to whether or not you think it has suffered adequately.

MALCOLM X: No but I think that most observers of world history agree and I can cite BILLY GRAHAM as the one who is the most quoted.

MING:

I don't know that we'd all accept BILLY GRAHAM.

MALCOLM X:

Well you have to cite someone and all of us aren't going to agree upon any one person whom we think. My point is that BILLY GRAHAM who is most vocal as a Christian and as a white American and who comes from North Carolina, all of that piled into one.

MING:

Who went to school in Wheaton, just outside of Chicago.

MALCOLM X:

It is still North Carolina, has constantly pointed out that America is standing at her hour of judgment. Not only BILLY GRAHAM but there are instances cited by politicians, world statesmen, who are speaking of the handwriting on the wall of the time that we're getting into now that you have to reap as you have sowed.

MING:

Don't you distinguish between rhetoric and serious social and political analysis.

MALCOLM X:

Well the serious social and political analysis of the condition that the world is in today would enable you and me or force you and me to agree that there must be an explosion whereas religious people call it judgment, socialists call it explosion.

MING:

I'm not so sure I would agree that there must be an explosion because I don't really know what you mean by explosion. In fact when you were citing BILLY GRAHAM I really was thinking of another Christian historian, a man by the name of TOYNBEE who enjoys a little more scholarly reputation in that field than Rev. GRAHAM who believes as you say that the Western World is at a period when its progress upward or downward is likely to be determined. He's optimistic about it because he feels that the people of the Western World will be able to solve their problems in a fashion that will enable their civilization to advance. I take it that you disagree with that.

MALCOLM X:

Much of what TOYNBEE says points to the downgoing of Western civilization more so than its upwardness. I think TOYNBEE in most of his writings is pointing toward the decline of Western civilization more so than to going farther in the direction of upward.

NING:

Doesn't your own doctrine which you were expounding a moment ago about conscious responsibility for conscious acts, doesn't that very concept impose on all of us without regard to color and perhaps even without regard to nationality, to try to resolve these problems you and I agree certainly exist.

MALCOLM X:

Certainly.

NING:

All right now if it does impose that obligation on us then it certainly doesn't help solve the problem, at least on the basis of my experience in both fighting with people and negotiating with them since I earn a living doing both, to start off by trying to saddle somebody else with guilt and trying to force them to confess to that guilt. That is if I want Senator DOUGLAS to support a measure that is to get out of the civil rights area that one of my clients thinks will be helpful to him I don't walk into his office and start off by saying you know at the last session you voted against a bill and you caused havoc and so on and we're going to try and defeat you the next time around, I start off by explaining to him the merits of the proposal that I have and hope to win his support, isn't that right?

MALCOLM X:

This is what the various civil rights groups have been doing for 100 years.

NING:

Pretty successfully to, haven't they MALCOLM?

MALCOLM X:

How can you call it success when you have a desegregation decision that was handed down by the Supreme Court 10 years ago and you have worse segregation problems in the school system of the North today than existed 10 years ago.

NING:

Not worse, they just look worse but we had them 10 years ago. As a matter of fact I wrote an article in 1952 which was published, in those days I was a University Professor and writing academic journals, in which I pointed out that I was satisfied that we had a legal remedy for the segregated schools of the South, that we'd win the segregated school case involving the South but that I neither had a legal remedy for the segregated schools of the North nor did any of the educators or educational administrators or anybody else seem to have any suggestions how to deal with the problem, so we had it, we had it in a very market fashion. As a matter of fact many of the problems that we have today currently at this moment are products of the factors which were in existence in 1952 at the time I was writing the article, the principal one being residential segregation and the second one being the practice of assigning, because they don't have seniority rights, inexperienced teachers to schools in poor slum neighborhoods white and Negro, but more Negro than white because Negroes are poorer than white people in the North. So you can't say we didn't have the problems, we had them, but we didn't have the solution.

MALCOLM X:

What victory did you get? What results?

NING:

Well I can tell you one we got and perhaps the major one. We got almost back to 1868, almost but not quite. We got back to the point that we were in the period immediately following the Civil War, when it was possible publically to discuss, criticize and get affirmative governmental action aimed at preventing racial discrimination in the United States and we lost that, when I say we now I'm not talking about people our color, I'm talking about the whole country because I agree with you that this is an American problem not a Negro problem. We lost it when the Hayes-Tilden Deal was made. Now the Republicans don't like that phrase being used, they wanted it called the Hayes-Tilden Arrangement, like the Southerners wanted it call the War Between the States, but whatever you call it, the Hayes-Tilden Deal or the Hayes-Tilden Arrangement,

the fact is that the National Government of the United States, or a little group of willful men to steal a phrase, sold out the victory which had been won in the Civil War over slavery, racial discrimination, class discrimination and so on and we in 1954 got back to, to pick out a year, but we got back almost 1868.

KUPCINET:

MALCOLM many people are concerned about you now or because there is an impression around, true or false, that you are making a call for violence. Even your brother, PHILBERT X, who is a Minister in Muhammad's Mosque of Islam, has called you a Judas Iscariot, a Brutus, a Benedict Arnold. He says that it is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress a violent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns quoting you as a man who is exposing violence and he also goes on in his attack to say MALCOLM has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women, and now he seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam. He goes into a pretty bitter attack on you and he says he didn't want to air this in public because he is your blood brother but he felt that because of your new stand in the Muslim Mosque you have organized he thought he had to speak out.

MALCOLM X:

My brother was unknown you know until he allowed himself to be used in this attack against me, you never heard of him.

KUPCINET:

Your right about that but what do you mean allowed himself to be used?

MALCOLM X:

That's a way for him to make the heat rise as if to become a part of anyone's efforts to attack me and he is my brother and I didn't come out here to reply to him. I think that if he's dumb enough to allow someone to put a script in his hand and tell him to read it

I don't think that I'm going to become involved in any kind of argument with him because I'm involved now in a positive program that's designed to eliminate the injustices, the political, economic and social injustices that our people are confronted by, at least to take an active part to try to eliminate that and what he's doing would take too much of my time. I might say this that when he says that what I'm doing will lead to violence and bloodshed and loss of life he fails to remember that the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in his speeches has said that Christianity has failed, the government has failed, the Department of Justice has failed and it's time to take all of this and put it in the garbage can and use the garbage can to fight back. Well I think it's more intelligent to use a rifle than to use a garbage can and when he says that what I'm doing will lead to much loss of life still the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has pointed out that it's time for us to rise up and defend ourselves and that if 10 million of us die there will still be 10 million of us left around to enjoy the fruits of freedom, justice and equality. I don't think that anything I've ever advocated involves sacrificing 10 million lives so eventually when my little brother I call him, says this he evidently hasn't read too well what the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has been teaching use all the time.

KUPCINET: Let me ask you something, besides your attack on the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's comment about 10 million may die.

MALCOLM X: I'm not attacking his comment.

KUPCINET: Your not?

MALCOLM X: No, I've never said anything at any time that in any way attacked the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. I never have and anyone who says I have will be misrepresenting me. I respect

him as being the one responsible for having taught me everything I know and making me whatever I am.

KEPCINET:

Then you agree with this statement that 10 million can die and there will be 10 million left to enjoy the fruits if there is a victory?

MALCOLM X:

I went to an integrated school up in Michigan where FOGARTY went also and they taught me about PATRICK HENRY. He became one of the heroes of the country and he said liberty or death. I think that anytime people really want freedom they have to realize that there is a price to pay for that freedom and in the history of this country whites have always shown their willingness to die to preserve what they call their independence or their freedom. Now the black people in this country today who have been begging so to speak for freedom for 100 years since the so-called Emancipation Proclamation the young generation is getting to the point now where it asks itself why should it have to be drafted and sent to die on foreign battlefields for what it has never gotten and at the same time is supposed to be passive and non-violent and turn the other cheek is right here at home. This is not consistent.

Senator DOUGLAS: May I say, I would like for the time being not to discuss the morality of this issue but would like to discuss the practicality of this program. I feel very strong about the morality but I don't think the white man is privileged to really raise this objective.

NING:

Before you get into that Senator I want to end an objection to this praise of American whites being willing to die.

MALCOLM X:

I haven't praised their willingness to die. I've only raised this to show that to question their rights to always imply that when a Negro speaks in terms of dying for freedom they make it look like it's a sin or like it's criminal, like it's advocating violence, whereas

whites have never been reluctant to commit bloodshed, to become involved in violence or anything else when it involves their own objectives, their own selfish objectives.

MING:

Isn't it naive to assume that 10 million Negroes died in fighting the climate of race relationships in this country being proved. I think it would be much worse. Although presumably 10 million whites did die at the same time.

MALCOLM X:

Certainly and probably more.

MING:

So that wouldn't prove the inter-racial relationships.

MALCOLM X:

But still, whenever white people are intelligent enough to realize that although they won't change an unjust situation because it's immoral or illegal or unlawful their intelligence will force them to take a step in changing it when it involves their selfish interests and I think that if whites who are intelligent were made to realize that Negroes have gotten fed up with this dillying-dallying and wavering and compromising to the point where they now are completely disenchanted with this slow legalistic procedure then I think that whites if they have a conscience left will compel them to do something to rectify these unjust conditions.

MING:

I don't think history shows that the people become more intelligent as a result of bloodshed.

MALCOLM X:

I'm not saying that they're going to become more intelligent but I say that their intelligence will make them take a barrel out of their house if they realize that there's some explosive material in that house that can do just as much harm to them as it does to the barrel that's going to explode.

Now as long as the whites think the Negroes are passive and peaceful and willing to compromise and wait for a long time, I believe many Negroes will be in the country another 100 years waiting for the Senators to stop filibustering this civil rights legislation that's going to come up next week.

WING: You generalize about what American whites think and I would say the same thing that I say when somebody tells me what 20 million or 22 million American Negroes think.

MALCOLM X: Attorney WING you and I were born in a generalized classification even though you are an attorney and another Negro might be a doctor or a professor, you fall into the same category with the Negro in the alley when it comes to discrimination and segregation. You and I happened to be born in a situation that has its own build in generalization and you can't rise above it.

Senator DOUGLAS: As I understand it you favor strict segregation of the races.

MALCOLM X: No not segregation of the races.

Senator DOUGLAS: I thought you stood first for a Negro area in Africa to which American Negroes.....

MALCOLM X: That's separation, not segregation. Segregation is that which is forced on inferiors by superiors. Separation is done voluntarily by two equals. You never call the all white neighborhood a segregated neighborhood. It's just the Negro community that's called a segregated neighborhood.

Senator DOUGLAS: All right then you believe in complete separation of the races.

MALCOLM X: I believe the same thing that America practices, separation and you can't bring about integration anywhere in this country because you don't have one place you can use as an example.

Senator DOUGLAS: This is precisely what Prime Minister VERWOERD of South Africa is asking for, separation.

MALCOLM X: No its not. This man in South Africa advocates segregation. He advocates setting up a certain area where he could put Africans and continue to control their economy, their politics and their society. What we're advocating is the same thing that Ghana wanted, separation from England. The same thing that Nigeria wanted, separation from England. Separation is an involvement in which you control your own economy, your own politics and your own destiny.

MING: What would you do with the Negroes that did not want it?

MALCOLM X: We'd leave you here.

MING: You may think that that's funny.

MALCOLM X: It's not funny, I'm telling you the truth.

MING: If you took a referendum against the 20 million or the 21 million American Negroes you'd find mighty little support for a proposal to go either to Africa or as I recall you were quoted as having said you hoped ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had Florida or California in mind.

MALCOLM X: Attorney MING when you said that if a referendum was taken that we wouldn't get very many to go. During slavery you had the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negro lived well. He lived with his master.

MING: No he didn't.

MALCOLM X: Well he lived better than the field Negro. He ate better food, he wore better clothes and he was closer to his master. He identified

with his master. He called his master's house our house, our food, our this and our that. If his master was sick he'd even go to the boss and say what's the matter boss are we sick. He identified more closely with his master than his master identified with himself. When the house caught on fire the house Negro would fight harder to protect his master's house than the master would himself.

NING: Then how to do account for the 500 slave revolts.....

MALCOLM X: I'm coming to that. If someone were to come to the house Negro and say lets escape, lets leave, lets separate, he would be insulted. Where could he go and find a better home.

NING: What about the slavery revolts?

MALCOLM X: The field Negro who lived out in the shacks who were poorer, ate poorer, wore poorer clothing and had anomosity in his heart toward his master when the master's house was on fire, the field Negro wouldn't try to put it out, he'd hope a wind would come along and burn it, and if you came to a field Negro and said lets escape, lets leave here, lets separate, he wouldn't ask you where are we going. The field Negro who was the mass element would be ready and willing to go to escape at any time. It was the house Negro who didn't want to leave and you have the same situation today here in America, house Negroes and field Negroes. House Negroes who think they can't live without their master and field Negroes who are the masters, who are ready to separate and do something for themselves.

NING: Well MALCOLM, NATE TURNER who was the most famous of the organizers of slave revolts and who was unsuccessful and who was hanged as the price of his lack of success, as JOHN BROWN was hanged for his lack of success, was by your terms a house Negro.

MALCOLM X:

No he was a field Negro.

MING:

Oh no MALCOLM he had been taught to read and write, he was a practicing Christian and as a matter of fact he had some small skill as an artisan. So he didn't satisfy your standards of the unskilled laborer.

MALCOLM X:

He was disguised as a house Negro. (Inaudible) Right here in America today you have some Negroes who pretend to be house Negroes and who pretend to be satisfied and who are looked upon as Toms, but who are just as dissatisfied as I and who.....

MING:

We're not talking about dissatisfaction. I never saw, frankly, a Negro in the United States in my life time who was wholly satisfied with conditions under which either he lived or saw other Negroes live. I've never seen one. I've seen some apologists who loosely were called Uncle Toms but even they privately weren't satisfied and I think one of the great developments of the last 5 years has been, today particularly in the deep South, Negroes who were regarded as "safe" by the white community but demonstrated that they were as antagonistic and as concerned and dissatisfied as the younger Negroes in the community. So that these classifications, these sweeping generalizations of yours, I just can't buy without regard to race, creed or color.

RICHARD KIM:

All the pictures I've seen of you, I've seen quite a bit, you never smile and here we were talking about things I saw you smile and you look very nice.

MALCOLM X:

I'll tell you why. Because the press prides itself in being able to project me as a monster. So reporters will come along and take 10 pictures and the ones that I'm smiling in are eliminated completely and the ones where I'm looking like I'm about to chew them up are the ones that

get the projection across the country. So when somebody sees me smiling they say no that can't be him because it doesn't look like he does.

KIM:

But you do smile?

MALCOLM X:

All the time. Although Negroes in this country don't have too much to smile about and at the same time we have been able to smile under the worse force of oppression, suppression, exploitation, discrimination, segregation and hypocrisy than any people have ever suffered in the history of the world. We can still smile and laugh and dance until we get into a position to do better.

MING:

I don't have any doubt that there are, I'm afraid, publishers as well as editors who use you MALCOLM as a device hopefully of driving wedges between groups of Negroes in the United States. Even though you and I might argue and disagree about tactics, which is really what we're talking about, we wouldn't disagree and I'm sure Senator DOUGLAS wouldn't disagree with you and me about where we were trying to get. I would include IRV KUPCINET in that group, I just don't know Mr. PACKARD and Mr. KIM well enough I'd be glad to include them to, but we might disagree on tactics. But this doesn't mean that there's really a basic disagreement and I think that the press has used you and undoubtedly will continue to use you in an effort to drive these wedges and I think your allusion in the picture selection business is impartial of it.

KUPCINET:

Let me make one observation about that, as a newspaper man. MALCOLM, whom I've known for many years, makes some very violent statements, at least they come out that way in the press. Now any picture editor would be pretty silly to use a smiling picture with some of the quotes which have been attributed to him, whether

right or wrong about the quotes. Point number two, a survey not too long ago showed that 75% of the people never heard of MALCOLM X. As a result of all the recent press 50% of the people have heard of him. You've become pretty well known and I see a little smile on your face now because of the press which you cannot object too much.

MALCOLM:

Let me make this comment and as I said earlier, about 75% of the people, it wasn't I who they said they haven't heard of, they said they never heard of the Muslims on this survey which was down, I think by Newsweek.

KUPCINET:

No Newsweek was a little different survey. This is the one about you. Newsweek showed that the Black Muslims were 8th and last or were last of all the Negro organizations as far as popularity.

MALCOLM X:

Yes. During the Kenyan uprising or the African uprising in Kenya by the Mau Maus, whites used to go to the Africans and ask them had they ever heard of Ghana or had they ever heard of the Mau Maus and naturally every African said no, I don't know what your talking about and the same one that said I don't know would get that white man's head that night when he went to bed. When you go into the Negro community after projecting the Muslims in the image that they've been projected in and ask a Negro have you heard of them, the one that you asked might be the minister of the Mosque and he'll say no I never heard of them. I was Minister in Boston in 1953 of Mosque Number 11 and I worked with whites every day and they didn't know I was a Muslim, had they asked me something about myself, they didn't even ask me about anything, about whether or not I was a Muslim. You didn't know CASSIUS CLAY was a Muslim until it was announced this year. There are many people who are Muslims and who are asked every day are they Muslims, who never heard of them. We're living in a society where the people sometimes have to be very acrobatic.

KUPCINET:

Let me ask you a question about that. MALCOLM you brought this upon yourself. Can you name one leader of the Negro race who is a member of either the Black Muslims your Muslim Mosque.

MALCOLM X:

One what?

KUPCINET:

Leader, prominent.....

MALCOLM X:

Give me some example, what do you mean by that?

KUPCINET:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, RALPH BUNCHE, RAY WILKINS, WHITNEY YOUNG, JAMES VAUGHN, BOB KING.

MALCOLM X:

They're Christian.

KUPCINET:

Let me go down the list of any prominent Negro. Can you name one who is identified or interested in this cause? Name one intellectual Negro.

MALCOLM X:

Yes. I think you'll find that there is a growing tendency among our people in this country to forget our religious differences and realize that this problem that our people are confronted by is too big for religious differences or organizational differences or personal differences to keep us apart, so that all these so-called leaders as you referred to them are beginning to see they won't be leaders, they won't have anybody following them if we don't get some results in this struggle.

KUPCINET:

The question was though can you name one who has ever identified or is sympathetic with this cause? Everyone has blasted or denounced you.

MALCOLM X:

I wouldn't name any one of them.

MING:

KUP when you say member of a (inaudible) or sympathetic to.

KUPCINET:

Yes.

MING:

I've represented and defended Muslims.

KUPCINET: Well your a lawyer, you have every right to.

MING: And other lawyers have both white and Negro by the way, both North and South, so I think for your purposes at least lets draw a line between the people who are members, if that's the right term. I always have difficulty you see in this problem of the distinction between somebody who is a member of a group and one who is interested in a group.

KUPCINET: No I'm talking about strictly the basic problem, the separationist theory against the (inaudible).

MING: Now that's still another problem. Because in that event Governor WALLACE of Alabama has to be listed.

MALCOLM X: Don't go to Alabama or Mississippi, come to Illinois.

MING: I can provide you with some good Chicago names to.

KUPCINET: Senator DOUGLAS wants to get a word in.

Senator DOUGLAS: Just on this point, on the practicality or possibility of separation even if it weren't desirable. First you say Africa is where we prefer to go. How can you transport 20 million Africans from the United States to Africa. GARVEY (ph.) advocated that after World War I.

MALCOLM X: GARVEY (ph.) had the largest mass movement of any Negro leader in the history of this country.

Senator DOUGLAS: Yes I know but he couldn't get anybody to Africa.

MALCOLM X: Because he was framed up by the Federal Government. You failed to realize that they were, according to this book here, Anti-Slavery which is probably the best document on slavery in this country, or one of the best, written by a University of Michigan Professor. On the chapter called Slavery and Political Power

it says right here if Mr. IRV KUPCINET
will bear me witness that it (end of first tape).

Second Tape

KUPCINET:

I think the issue has really been joined here now with all the other issues aside that the theory of separation vs. integration that most of us are fighting for in this country, how do you think a separation could possible work, is this a really realistic approach to the problem MALCOLM?

MALCOLM X:

Separation isn't the objective, nor is integration the objective. The objective of about 20 million black people in this country is freedom. Now the integrationists are using integration as the method by which to obtain that objective and we're using separation as the method by which to obtain that objective. The integrationists have run into so many obstacles on the road of integration until they have lost sight of their real original objective and how have mistaken the objective for the method.

Senator DOUGLAS: Well I want to say that I think you'll run into greater difficulties in the field of separation. In the first place how can you move again 20 million Americans to Africa in a country which is already possessed by black Africans.

MALCOLM:

Well those are our brothers over there.

Senator DOUGLAS: I know but they won't accept you. It will cost 100 billion dollars in the first place.

MALCOLM X:

America is sending 20 billion dollars to the Latin American countries in the Alliance for Progress or whatever they call it. America is sending hundreds of millions or billions of dollars to Communist countries like Poland and Hungary and neutralist countries like India and these people over there have made no contribution whatsoever to this system. So I

don't think the cost is the problem. The question is would our people in Africa accept this and would our people go. Yes our people in Africa would accept us, they would welcome us with open arms.

Senator DOUGLAS: I doubt that.

MALCOLM X: I spent last night at an African affair at the UN where brothers have been inviting me and others to Africa for the longest time and I think that it's wrong for America to think that Africans wouldn't accept us with open arms.

Senator DOUGLAS: They'd accept you as a very able Negro but whether they'd accept 20 million is something else again, give up their land and give up their resources. So I think in fact you'll have to seek separation in this country. Now if you try to take over Florida or California, if 20 million Negroes try to take over California from 170 million whites or non-Negroes your just going to have a Civil War of the most deadly type and do you expect 20 million to prevail against 170 million?

MALCOLM X: I don't think that when the founding fathers of this country, only 13 colonies wanted to secede from England, they didn't let the odds of the English Empire or the British Empire that were against them in any way deter them from their goal of freedom, justice and equality. They didn't care what the odds were.

Senator DOUGLAS: They were a relatively unified group opposing another group across the seas but here you would have to drive out the 17 million people of California or some 6 million people in Florida.

MALCOLM X: But sir you failed to realize or consider that this country was inhabited by Indians when the white man came here from Europe and he didn't let the fact that the country was already occupied deter him from taking it over.

Senator DOUGLAS: Yes but there's a relatively small number of Negroes, not more than 500,000.

MING: MALCOLM I thought you would add that to your list of offenses for the white race. I certainly would.

MALCOLM X: It is one of the offenses. But here's the thing sir that you failed to consider. When the Negro civil rights fighter thinks of himself as a civil rights fighter, usually he thinks within the confines of the American boundaries and on the American stage the Negro is a minority. He's an underdog, the odds are against him. But there's a new awakening among Negroes wherein they look at the whole struggle in its world contents and on the international stage our people are part of the dark world which is the majority and the white man is the minority.

Senator DOUGLAS: You look forward then to a World War, a race war with those of darker skins against the white. This is really what your looking forward to. Now I'll just say one thing more and quit because we've kept Mr. PACKARD here without saying a word and Mr. KIM has said almost nothing. You may want to escape from us, many whites want to escape from you but I submit that we're here in this country together and we've got to learn to get along with each other. You may not want to get along with us or lots of us don't want to get along with you but we're here, we can't escape, we can't fly, we can't flee. Here we are now how can we best get along?

KUPCINET: I would like BOB to address himself to the things that you said about the number of Negroes who would leave this country and settle in Africa. I don't get the impression that there's very many, do you Mr. MING?

MING:

I certainly don't KUP. As a matter of fact what we've been fighting for and what I was struggling for was a fair share and I must admit by that my idea of a fair share for me and my family and other American Negroes without discrimination on account of color are the things that the United States is capable of both materially and spiritually and which I think by virtue of the efforts of my ancestors I have a right to, and I think that that position is the position of a number of Negroes in the United States, and nobody is going to swap me an undisclosed, an undivided piece of a undeveloped continent.

MALCOLM X:

Under-populated continent.

MING:

Well there's some question as to whether Africa is under-populated or not.

MALCOLM X:

Under-populated and under-developed.

MING:

There's a question about that. It certainly doesn't have as many people per square mile as some other continents if that's what you mean by under-populated.

MALCOLM X:

Attorney MING the generation that you represent.....

MING:

Which generation do I represent?

MALCOLM X:

The generation that you came up in is a generation of patience.

MING:

That's just not true. My generation is the generation that whipped the depression without regard to race, creed or color. We managed to survive. We fought and won a pretty good war and we, God help us whether we were right or not, we thought we were fighting it for the freedom of the individuals without regard to race.

MALCOLM X:

What do you mean you thought? But you can't say right now that that's what you were fighting for, and if you were fighting for it you didn't get it.

MING:

Well that's right we didn't any more than our fathers got democracy when they fought World War I. But all this does is convince me as I said to Senator DOUGLAS before we went on the air that war apparently isn't a very good instrument of political and social advance. That's what that proves.

MALCOLM X:

Senator DOUGLAS pointed out that what I was advocating or at least implying was a coming World War. ADLAI STEVENSON in the New York Times pointed out that what was going on in the United Nations is a skin game and he said that this might result as what is known in the UN as the skin game. Earlier when we were talking about TOYNBEE you mentioned SPENGLER (ph.), SPENGLER's book that he was most famous for was the Decline of the West, but he wrote another book in the early 1930s that was less famous called The Hour of Decision and the thesis of that book was that in the world struggle it would first be based upon class and then it would develop into a race struggle. When you study the history of the world all of the struggles and ailments were based upon class. Now it is shifting into a racial block all over this earth and if the sides line up along racial lines and you have America aligned with Russia and China aligned with the people of Africa and Latin America and Asia where would the Negro be in this country.

MING:

In the middle, squarely in the middle and that's what I'm concerned about.

MALCOLM X:

And this is when you'll find that the generation that is coming up and sees this will be just as ready and willing to escape so that he can be in a land surrounded by people that look something like he does instead of in a land where people have been hostile toward him all of his time here.

MING:

MALCOLM this assumption about the affirmative reactions of people on account of color is based on your perfectly valid observations about the negative reactions of whites. Let me say if I can put it this way. Simply because many American whites judge Negroes and Orientals and Filipinos and so on solely on the basis of skin color, that doesn't mean that all the worlds non-whites affirmatively embrace people because they have a dark skin color, that just isn't true. This has nothing to do with your and Senator DOUGLAS' discussion about what would happen in Africa, this is an observation that I can demonstrate by reference to the reactions of various people in the Far East to each other. For example I'm sure Mr. KIM will agree with this that if were not for the Korean antagonism to the Japanese and then later to the Chinese particularly political many of the conflicts that Korea has been the victim of over 3 centuries or thereabouts would never have occurred. All of those people who were fighting and all of those people who were massacring each other and exploiting each other were Orientals. The same thing is true down in Southeast Asia with the exception of that little handful of American troops the Viet Nam and the Viet Cong are all people who are ethnically of the same group. The mere fact that people are the same color doesn't make them agree about things and that's true in the United States as it is in the next world.

MALCOLM X:

Colonial policy was always divide and conquer.

MING:

Of course it was, of whites by the way as well as non-whites.

MALCOLM X:

Certainly but it still was divide and conquer and most of your colonial powers were white powers that had colonized non-white countries and they had to divide and conquer because usually they were out numbered. Now one thing that happened in this century.....

MING:

And they used Christianity frequently as part of the division.

MALCOLM X:

They used more than that.

NING:

I'm giving you ammunition.

MALCOLM X:

Certainly, I thank you brother. One of the things that has happened in this century that people lose sight on was the Bandung Conference. At Bandung one of the things they agreed to do was to submerge differences, they had all different points at which they were in conflict with. One thing all of the people who attended the Bandung Conference had in common was that they were from Africa or Asia or probably Latin America and they were oppressed, they were colonized, they were the underdogs. So they put aside their differences and agreed to do something in common to eliminate a common oppressor, a common exploiter and it was this decision that was reached at Bandung that helped to bring about the emergence of many of the African nations who had really nothing to fight with.

NING:

We've been sorting people on the basis of race and religion for years and now you say **MALCOLM** the practice is beginning to be used by American whites on each other which leads me to.....

MALCOLM X:

The chickens are coming home to roost.

NING:

Which leads me to the comment that I made that one of the big problems of the American Negro in his fight for equality was he was really asking the American power structure to treat him better than the American power structure treats hundreds of thousands of whites.

KUPCINET:

I'm surprised **MALCOLM** that you would use that phrase the chickens are coming home to roost, because as I recall you used it at the time of President **KENNEDY**'s assassination for which you were suspended by **ELIJAH MUHAMMAD**.

MALCOLM X:

Well it's an expression I use and by it I mean that what you put out now is coming back upon you and at the time that I used it when

President KENNEDY was assassinated I was making a speech at the Manhattan Center in New York and the topic was God's Judgment of White Americans and the point that I was making was that just as Rome fell because of the seeds of slavery and some of these other Empires like the Greek Empire, the Persian Empire, the Babylonian Empire and then Biblically you had the Sodomites and the Egyptians and so forth just as the seeds that they sowed ultimately brought about their own undoing I was showing how the seeds that America had sowed by the enslavement of the Negroes in this country was bringing about her undoing today plus her.....

MING:

How does that relate to the assassination of President KENNEDY.

MALCOLM X:

I'm getting to it. Plus her involvement in the affairs of others all over the world illegally and immorally was beginning to come backhome upon her and had created a climate, the reporters said, a climate of hate in this country which brought about a situation where someone would assassinate the President of the country. So that when I said the chickens had come home to roost I wasn't speaking about the death of an individual man I was saying the same thing that the reporters had said when they referred to it as the climate of hate. The climate of hate that had been created in this country was not by me, not by blacks but by ones who were responsible for depriving the civil rights demonstrators, the boycotters, the freedom riders and others, they were the ones who had created this climate of hate so I said the chickens came home to roost not meaning that I was happy over the death of an individual but all of this was part of the overall collective (inaudible) that had come down upon the head of one man.

KUPCINET:

Most of the public and certainly the man you call the leader of your faith certainly misunderstood and disagreed with your expression.

MALCOLM X:

No, the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD never suspended me because of the statement I made perse but he had told me in advance not to make any statement concerning the death of the President, pro or con, and I disobeyed him and my suspension was based upon that disobedience. How could he suspend me for making a remark about a man whom his own teachings condemned as being responsible for the situation that exists in this country.

MING:

Oh you don't mean that. You don't mean that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD held the late President KENNEDY responsible.

MALCOLM X:

Not him perse.

MING:

Well that's what you just said and I take it you didn't mean it and that's the reason.....

MALCOLM X:

Not him perse, him as a symbol. The whole structure, the administration, the government which had dillied-dallied when it came to the rights of our people is held responsible for the rights of our people. Now KENNEDY only was the symbol of it all.

Senator DOUGLAS: Well I must protest. I think your indiscriminating in your putting guilt on individual whites as whites aren't putting guilt on individual Negroes or condemning a whole group because of the sins of some.

MALCOLM X:

Senator, in the New York Times, the New York Times pointed out just before the death of the President that there was dilly-dallying on the part of the.....here it is. In the New York Times on October 24th it says Which Way on Civil Rights? All the fighting over the civil rights legislation in the House Judiciary Committee is being done by the friends of civil rights against one another,

and then it goes on to explain why and then down at the bottom it condemns the administration for trying to water down a civil rights bill which it considered stronger than one they had originally intended. The point that I'm making is that the New York Times condemned the administration and condemned the President and his brother for backing down on what it had considered in the first place a moral issue and it condemned both the Attorney General and the President again for watering the bill down before it had even gotten out there in the field.

NING:

But MALCOLM don't you realize the great strength of the efforts that have been made on behalf of Negroes in the United States has been that legally the opponents of abolishing discrimination have been defeated every time, they've been able to muster no substantial defense. The Urban League from the social work personnel point of view has produced irreputable arguments. MARTIN LUTHER KING to use as a symbol if I may be permitted to has produced a moral and a ethical position which is (inaudible). Now when you turn to talking of separation and violence don't you really furnish our opponents with something that they can argue about without being able to meet them with the assurance that the NAACP can do on the legal front the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other church groups and so on. Now that's what bothers me.

MALCOLM X:

The New York Times again on.....

NING:

I don't care about the New York Times. I'm asking you.

MALCOLM X:

Whenever I seem to make an objective analysis from my own point of view over the dilly-dallying of these politicians it's made to impair that I'm a criminal.

NING:

Well certainly not by me.

MALCOLM X:

Well maybe not be you but by these others.

MING:

I might disagree with you without regarding you as a criminal.

MALCOLM X:

Here's what it points out concerning the administration that supposed to be for the civil rights bill. It speaks of now the administration finds itself embarrassed because the House Judiciary Committee has approved a civil rights bill the White House considers too strong for any realistic change of passage. Attorney General KENNEDY has gone before the full committee to urge that some of the strengthening provisions be knocked out in the interest of obtaining more support from middle of the road Republicans and Democrats. But its concessions to political expediency contrasts sharply to the administration's previously emphasis on the privacy of the moral issue in the national struggle for equality for every American. The last paragraph says this, next to the last. Retreat before the battle is the worse way to block the campaign of Southern Democrats to scuttle any meaningful civil rights legislation. There was no place for partisanship in the field for a sound civil rights bill but to seek unity through an approach based on the lowest common denominator of consensus harms the bill's enemies more than it does its friends. In the last paragraph it says in the appeal to conscience, the President in his address to the nation a few days before his civil rights message, the President declared that this country have all its hopes and all its (inaudible) "will not be fully free until all of its citizens are free". That is the yardstick that ought to guide the Congress in the debate now nearing a climax in the House Judiciary Committee.

KUPCINET:

Before we were cut off by that commercial so rudely we did emphasize MALCOLM that we would get a very strong civil rights bill which is now pending and as the Senator says he has hopes that it eventually, within two months, will come to some (inaudible).

MALCOLM X: But if you read the reports.....

KUPCINET: You were reading old stories incidentally from the New York Times.

MALCOLM X: Still - and you brought up an old story in reference to President KENNEDY so I had to clarify it.

KUPCINET: You brought up an old phrase the chickens are coming home to roost.

MALCOLM X: And I backed it up.

KUPCINET: You backed away from it.

MALCOLM: No I backed it up. ROBERT KENNEDY was accused by the head of the NAACP in Washington D. C., MITCHELL, right at the time that this same thing was taking place and the administration was accused of selling Negroes out on the civil rights bill by trying to water it down.

MING: The political tactic worked and we got out of the House a strong civil rights bill and we won it and I'm very glad MALCOLM to have the plug for my favorite organization the NAACP, it helped a little. Thanks a lot.

KIM: I may be coming back to Mr. MALCOLM X but you know you've mentioned that in order to achieve your goal you may be willing to sacrifice 10 million people. Now suppose that you achieved your goal at last after sacrificing 10 million people, what then? What about the 10 million people who were sacrificed? Now supposing again that you had the absolute control over these 10 million people or you could influence them so that enough, so much so, that you could lead them the way you wanted. So you sacrificed your own people and at last you achieved your goal. The question is so what? What then?

MALCOLM X:

I never said anything about sacrificing 10 million people. I was quoting someone else. I think that what you failed to consider, we have pointed out as the only solution, efforts must be made for us to solve our problems ourselves. At present as I said I'm still a Muslim, my religion is still Islam, but we have become involved in political action, in social action and in economic action designed to get all of our people actively involved in any program that will eliminate the evils that exist in our community and what I seem to be the target of now is not the present program that we have but something that has to do with the past. We're involved in voters registration, we're involved in voters registration drives across the country. I was trying to cooperate with Rev. GULAMISON (ph.) and Dr. POWELL in New York in the school boycott against the segregated school system and since ROY WILKINS issued a call he said for one million more registered Negro voters for this year we have said that we're going to try to register more than a million right in the New York area alone. Well this shows that we're trying to involve ourselves with the civil rights groups in a struggle that will eliminate these evils. But we will involve ourselves with them on issues upon which we can agree. In areas where we will disagree we won't even bring up that other discussion.

KUPCINET:

MALCOLM let me ask you a very quick question because time is running out and you can answer this with a yes or no.

MALCOLM X:

I never answer questions yes or no.

KUPCINET:

All right, but a short answer. There's been a story around that you charged or some people charged in your behalf that there was an attempt to assassinate you by people with whom you were formerly associated.

MALCOLM X:

Yes, it is a fact that an effort was made to get someone to remove me from the land of the living and thanks to ALLAH the ones who were chosen or sent out to do it informed me of it.

KUPCINET:

Thanks to ALLAH or ELIJAH?

MALCOLM X:

ALLAH - ALLAH, God. The ones who were sent out to do it informed me of it and I had a chance to give them a little knowledge that opened their own eyes and made it so that it wasn't possible for someone to misuse them in that manner. Beyond that I have nothing more to say about it.

KUPCINET:

(Inaudible) who stimulated and who the source of this effort was?

MALCOLM X:

I have nothing more to say about it.

KUPCINET:

It still is a very dramatic charge.

MALCOLM X:

Well I believe that every man is born to die and whenever your involved in a struggle for freedom and against injustice I think you have to realize in advance the price that your going to have to pay, one way or another, and I realize that price and I'm willing to take the stand that I take whatever the price is.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 4-10-64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (112) **67C**

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - NOI

On 3-9-64, subject appeared on the news and commentary program, "The World At Ten," television station WEDT, channel 13, NYC. He was interviewed by commentator JOE DURSO relative to his split from the NOI on 3-8-64.

Attached hereto for each copy of this memo is a transcription of the interview, obtained from a tape of the program made by the NYO.

It is noted that this interview was the subject of NY airtel and LHM dated 3-11-64, copies to NOI file NY, Chicago and Phoenix.

1-105-7809 (NY) (112)
1-100-152759 (NY) (112)
①-105-8999

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NEW YORK	

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DURSO: Well MALCOLM, the first thing I am not completely sure about is just what is it that you left, the Muslim religious movement, the Muslim political arm or what?

MALCOLM X: Well, my religion is Islam and everything I know was taught to me by the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and everything that I am I was made that also by him and during the ninety days of silence that I have experienced during the suspension since December first, I made up my mind that the best way for me to help spread the ELIJAH MUHAMMAD diagnosis and solution for the problems that beset our people in this country is to stay out of the Nation of Islam and work among the non-Muslim so-called Negroes in this country. That does not mean that my religion is not Islam and that does not mean that I am not still a Muslim. And it does not mean that I am not still a believer in ALLAH and a follower of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

DURSO: Now you refer to your suspension, maybe we better go back and fill in a little bit. That occurred, as I recall, some time after remarks attributed to you about the assassination of President KENNEDY. Didn't it?

MALCOLM X: Yes. Right after the time ^{as} the assassination, I had made a speech at Manhattan Center and the topic of the speech was God's Judgement of White Americans and was citing different things to show where everything that was happening to America in this ~~area~~ ^{area} was actually the fulfillment of Divine Prophecy, and the assassination itself was the fulfillment of Divine Prophecy. And in saying that it was chickens coming home to roost, I was saying nothing different from what was being said by every news announcer, who described it as the

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result of a climate of hate. Well, climate of hate is the same expression as chickens coming home to roost. So, it was distorted in the eyes of the public and made to appear that I was ~~trying to~~ ^{trying to} hate or something of that sort.

DURSO:

Well, don't you think though that the term chickens coming home to roost is inappropriate in the circumstances in which it was used.

MALCOLM X:

No I don't think it was inappropriate. I think that one of the things Americans need to do is be able to face facts. Whether those facts deal with someone they have sentiment for or whether the facts deal with a stranger and Americans have formed the habit of being able to look objectively at things that they are not themselves involved in, but when it is something that is dear to them, they become very subjective and they lose their sight of the situation.

DURSO:

But apparently MUHAMMAD felt strongly enough about it to invoke this ninety day suspension. Didn't he?

MALCOLM X:

Actually the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD suspended me for disobeying him. Not so much for the remark. He had warned me before I made the remark not to make any statements concerning the death of the President and at the end of my speech, I used this term and I used it in such a way that the press was able to distort it and project it to mean other than it did. So he suspended me. But the suspension was actually my disobedience in getting on a topic that he had told me to stay away from.

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DURSO:

By the way, why did you disobey him?

MALCOLM X:

Well, I imagine it had just. Actually, I couldn't really answer it. It was one of those things. Today I believe it was meant because of all of the chain reaction of events that were set in motion have become such that I just believe that that in it itself was part of Divine Prophecy.

DURSO:

Well, now let's bring the narrative up a little bit. After that, after MUHAMMAD suspended you as I understand what you said tonight you have felt increasingly at least that your presence in the movement might be a source of ^{new} embarrassment or friction or dislocation of some kind?

MALCOLM X:

That could be because originally the suspension was to last for ninety days and recently I was informed that the suspension would be indefinite, and I wasn't given any concrete explanation as to why, so I feel that I am a very outspoken person, I believe in speaking what is on my mind, especially if I know it's true. And since I am given to making statements that could be embarrassing to others, I feel that it's probably best for me to stay out and work among the non-Muslim so-called Negroes and try and make them aware of the conditions as they actually exist. And also make them aware of the fact that the only real analysis or diagnosis is Mr MUHAMMAD's diagnosis and also his solution.

DURSO:

Well then yesterday actually what you did since the suspension was already indefinite, was to suspend yourself indefinitely as I see?

MALCOLM X:

This is correct.

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DURSO: But the suspension was not religious certainly, it was, what would you say, organizational, political?

MALCOLM X: Organizational. More organizational because you don't be suspended from a religion. Your religion is your personal convictions.

DURSO: Now, who initiated your action yesterday very bluntly, was it you or MUHAMMAD?

MALCOLM X: My action yesterday?

DURSO: Yes

MALCOLM X: The action that I initiated was initiated by me yes.

DURSO: The question raised is did he put more pressure on you to leave?

MALCOLM X: No. He did inform me that the suspension would be indefinite, and I could see that during the past ninety days being silent I was just waisting away. It is hard to make the rooster stop crowing once the sun is risen.

DURSO: Well I don't think anybody would accuse you of just waisting away exactly Mr. MALCOLM. MAX LERNER said today that you disdained a duel with MUHAMMAD for the leadership of the movement.

MALCOLM X: No. LERNER is not in a position to analyze any action that is taken by any Muslim. I read LERNER's column. He fit very well the title of his column. He can remove the question mark. LERNER is not in a position to say that I disdained any kind of conjecture with Mr. MUHAMMAD. I am a follower of Mr. MUHAMMAD.

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He is the one who taught me what I know. What would I look like entering into some kind of debate or dispute with him. He is the one who made me what I am and my love and respect for Mr. MUHAMMAD is higher today than it was 12 years ago when I first became one of his followers.

DURSO: Incidentally, since you did mention MAX LERNER's column and the title of it, I have a copy of it here. It is called "White Devils?" and of course the context in which that headline was written has to be understood. Of course he is referring back to a quotation that was applied to your viewpoint on the white race.

MALCOLM X: Well I got the impression that he was asking is it so and you take Mr. LERNER's analysis of our religious objectives and in my opinion it is a very diabolical analysis.

DURSO: Well, now coming back to what you say you apparently still profess great respect for MUHAMMAD. Nevertheless, you seem to think that staying within the organization politically would be a source of embarrassment to him and perhaps a divisiveness in the organization.

MALCOLM X: More, not more, not so much embarrassment as divisiveness.

DURSO: Well, don't you think that breaking away and setting up your own organization is about as divisive as you can get.

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MALCOLM X:

NO. I don't think so because it is my intention to work among the, there are 22 million so-called Negroes in this country. No one knows the exact number of Muslims, but I am in a good position to know that there is a strong sympathy among the non-Muslim so-called Negro element in the philosophy that is taught by the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and it is my intention, as a Muslim in the Nation of Islam, the restrictions placed upon me made it somewhat impossible for me to work at a broad enough level to reach the variety of people who are having a growing interest in what Mr. MUHAMMAD is teaching. In my present position, detached from the organization itself, it is possible for me to do whatever I think is necessary to reach and awaken and enlighten and unite our people and lead them in the direction of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

DURSO:

You have not tried this out on MUHAMMAD yet have you, this viewpoint of yours you are actually leading people by a circuitous route back to him?

MALCOLM X:

The Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has always taught us that everyone of the black people in this country would accept the religion of Islam at a given time or at a certain time and any effort that is put forth by anyone in this country to awaken and enlighten Negroes will always point them in the direction of Mr. MUHAMMAD.

DURSO:

Well, now lets get down to the brass tacks of the case, Mr. MALCOLM, and exactly what it is that you are seeking to do? Now precisely what are you achieving to do?

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MALCOLM X:

Well, probably it, you have to understand when I say that I believe that Mr. MUHAMMAD's analysis of the problem in this country is correct and most of your civil rights leaders also say this. They say that they go for his analysis but not his solution. Well, five years ago most of your civil rights leaders said that they condemned his analysis. Now they have gotten nerve enough to admit that they believe in his analysis. A year from now they'll have nerve enough to believe, to admit that they also go for his solution. I know that they see Mr. MUHAMMAD's analysis and solution as the only real approach to the problem and it is my intention to drive this point home.

DURSO:

Well, let's be more specific than that. In driving this point home I presume you will not change any of your viewpoints and of course so much comment and controversy, for example, the idea of a separatist Negro movement that has labeled you as rather an arch segregationist in the sense of advocating a state for Negroes and one for whites, and presumably the two states being side by side within the same national quarters. It that the idea?

MALCOLM X:

Well look at Harlem. Harlem is a black city within a white city. The only difference is that the community of Harlem is controlled by outsiders. The economy of Harlem is controlled by outsiders. The politics of Harlem is controlled by outsiders. The social activity in Harlem, the civic activity is controlled by outsiders. Now, my religion is Islam, but my political philosophy is Black Nationalism. My economic philosophy is Black Nationalism. My social philosophy is Black Nationalism, and

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to me I believe that this is what the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD teaches. So that many Negroes who consider themselves Christians and reluctant to accept Christianity, rather Islam as their religion, they are prone toward the economic philosophy of the Black Nationalist and the political philosophy of the Black Nationalist, the social philosophy of the Black Nationalist. So that we are going to approach the whole problem on a broad enough basis so that every Negro in Harlem will be able to identify ~~that~~ something in some kind of unified effort toward getting a solution to the problem.

DURSO:

But doesn't that put you on the side of the white segregationists in the South and against the national civil rights leaders?

MALCOLM X:

Wait a minute. Don't. Excuse me for pointing my finger at you, but don't ever say the white segregationists in the South. New York City has a harder time getting integration in its school system than they do in Jackson, Mississippi, and the mistakes that white Northerners make is always pointing toward the South. Don't go down South. Deal with New York City and this doesn't mean that we're segregationists. White New Yorkers are segregationists. But they try and camouflage their segregation with token integration. Muslims are realists. We say that since the white man here in this city knows that he cannot stomach integration and the Negro is fed up with segregation, the best solution is separation and separation differs from segregation in that segregation is something that is forced upon inferiors by superiors and Mr. MUHAMMAD teaches us that separation is done voluntarily by two equals.

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DURSO: That puts you in the camp with segregationists where ever they may be and against the national civil rights leaders, Negro and white.

MALCOLM X: Well, it is not to say against the national civil rights leaders. Most of the national civil rights leaders are becoming disenchanted with their own efforts and their own achievements and I think that they themselves are ready to make a reappraisal of their strategy and their objectives.

DURSO: Well, I don't know because some of the most recent things they've said indicate the opposite. For example, WITNEY YOUNG of the Urban League has referred to you inelegantly and you will pardon the expression as a con guy exploiting the misery of the masses.
JACKIE ROBINSON

MALCOLM X: Lets get to YOUNG first. WITNEY YOUNG has just been offered one of those crumbs by the Administration in Washington, D.C. A big job, and usually when you find those Negroes in front of whose nose these fine jobs have been dangled, they always willing to say the type of things that WITNEY YOUNG is saying today.

DURSO: Well, JACKIE ROBINSON has called you a threat to integration.

MALCOLM X: JACKIE ROBINSON has just become part of Governor ROCKEFELLER's political machine and it is his job to make Negroes think that NELSON ROCKEFELLER is the Saviour who will lead us to the promised land of integration.

DURSO: JAMES FARMER, as we said earlier, has called you a talented demagogue and I don't want you to comment on the talent so much as the demagogue.

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MALCOLM X: Not having gone as far in school as Brother JAMES FARMER, you'd have to break down the word demagogue for me.

DURSO: I think you know what he meant though.

MALCOLM X: No. I think that I would not say that JIM FARMER is justified in referring to me or any black person whose nationalistic in his thinking as a demagogue. Mr. FARMER himself will probably be in the Nationalist camp before 1964 is over. In fact, the failure of the civil rights movement in 1963 if the civil rights leaders were honest, why they would have come over into the Nationalist camp a long time ago.

DURSO: Well, you're predicting that JAMES FARMER of CORE will be in the Nationalist camp. I don't know exactly what you mean by the Nationalist camp by the end of 1964.

MALCOLM X: Sir, I think that most objective observers of the racial struggle in this country agree that 1964 will be far more explosive racially than 1963 ever dreamt of being. There is no gimmick this year like the March on Washington to serve as a vent to the frustrations of Negroes and because these gimmicks will have had served their purpose or will have run themselves out there will be nothing to contain the Negroes in 1964 if they really begin to explode through dissatisfaction and disillusionment and I think at the end of the year FARMER and some of those will then begin to see and admit publicly that their way is just bankrupt.

DURSO: I think that brings us, MALCOLM, to some of the most controversial of your viewpoints and that is you use the word explosive here. You've also used the term active is self-defense and the idea appears to be that you don't go along with non-violence any more as

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the way of achieving this. Now, may be you better put on the record right now just how you would go about the physical side of achieving these things.

MALCOLM X:

If the United States Government is on record as being for desegregation and when these Negro civil rights leaders become involved in demonstrations against segregation, what they are actually doing is trying to break down laws or practices which the Supreme Court has labeled as criminal. Now, if the integrationists are against segregationists, who are criminals, then the law should be on the side of the integrationist demonstrators but in every instance where Negroes are trying to integrate or desegregate, you'll find that the one who is opposing them is the law itself. It is the policeman who sticks police dogs on them. So when the young Negro that's coming up now is beginning to see the deceit and the hypocrisy of the entire civil rights struggle and they are ready and willing to do what ever is necessary to see that the law of the land be enforced or let the law enforcers admit that it is not the law of the land, and this is not violence. This is a situation where Negroes are beginning to see where, if the Government itself cannot step in and protect us from the violence of the whites, white supremacists, white rascists, white bigots, then it is time for Negroes to do what ever is necessary to defend ourselves and to protect ourselves even if it means taking rifles and shotguns and driving away from our door those rascists and those bigots who are brutalizing Negroes, and this is something that has to be said and if nobody else will say it, then one of the reasons that I am now out here on my own is that I feel it should be said and I am going to say it and in saying it in the capacity that I am now in it won't embarrass anybody or put anybody on the spot. But its time for Negroes to defend themselves.

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DURSO: Well that certainly would put people on the spot and you are apparently trying to form alliances but you cannot imagine any of the major civil rights leaders in the United States going along with that statement. Do you really?

MALCOLM X: Well, if they don't, if the major civil rights leaders in the United States don't do something to show the Negro that he has the right to protect himself, the major civil rights leaders in the United States will be leaders without a following.

DURSO: What do you mean protect? Are you talking about retaliation?

MALCOLM X: No retaliation. Protect. And this is why I say its legal. The laws of the United States recognize the right of self-defense. Any time someone is going to bomb a Negro church then its within the right of those Negroes to retaliate against the bombers of their church. If the United States Government can go down to Birmingham, Alabama, and find out who bombed their church and murdered those little black girls, then its time for Negroes to investigate it themselves, find the ones who are guilty and execute them on the spot. Now if its criminal to say something like that, they need to stick me in Sing Sing.

DURSO: When you say Negroes ought to do it, you're referring to MALCOLM X I presume as the Negro who should do this.

MALCOLM X: No not necessarily MALCOLM X, but any so-called Negro in this country who is fed up over the dilly dallying of the Government when it comes to the protection of Negroes should get together and do it and if it takes me to do it, well yes I'll do it.

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DURSO:

Well that kind of talk of course must answer the next question before I even pose it, that the present pace of integration in this country, which you're not in favor of in the first place, has been, to say the least, too slow. Are you in favor of integration?

MALCOLM X:

I am sorry for cutting you off. But don't ever say that the brunt of the burden is on me. The white people in New York City cannot be for integration because they cannot integrate. See the mistake that the whites make, especially the white liberals, they throw that at me as if I am against integration. My contention is that America is against integration. But they're hypocrites. They pose as being for integration while they practice segregation, and the problem will never get solved until some Negro is free enough to sit down and analyze this and spell it out in the face of the white man. Make him admit it and once this fact is seen as a fact then perhaps some honest efforts can be made towards solving the problem.

DURSO:

Well, lets put the burden on you in this one sense. You are a segregationist.

MALCOLM X:

No. A separationist.

DURSO:

And again I want to come back to that, exactly how physically would you do this. Would we have, not Harlem, I'm not talking about Harlem in the midst of New York. You would actually have eventually a geographical entity of Negroes and one of whites side by side.

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MALCOLM X:

one of Negroes
There is already a geographical entity, and one of whites. Harlem is an example, Bedford Stuyvesant is an example; Queens. You have areas of Queens that are black, solid black belts. The whites have moved out. So let's face that as a fact. And I think if whites would be honest enough to tell the Negro that they are not for integration, then the Negro won't continue to be disillusioned. He'll face up to this fact and start being something for himself instead of continuing to dream of the time when he can sit down in your community, in your restaurant, in your hotel or in your school. He'll start doing something for his own schools. He'll start doing something to elevate the condition of his own school, the calibre of his own schools, the calibre of his own teachers. He'll start doing something to elevate the calibre of his own neighborhood and in my desire to work with civil rights groups, I'll work with them if their objective is to elevate the condition of the Negro community itself, not force Negroes into white communities where they are not wanted.

DURSO:

Most of the civil rights groups in the country that aren't, they base their viewpoint on the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, which said that separate facilities such as you advocate can never be equal.

MALCOLM X:

Well, if they can never be equal and it's the Supreme Court decision, it has never been implemented any more so than it has in ten years, why those Negro leaders ought to be ashamed to even refer to the Supreme Court decision. Any time you give me a check that I cannot cash, why you have done me a disservice. I'd rather you don't give me anything and then I would at least know I am broke.

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DURSO:

There is one other question I would like to ask you, MALCOLM, and that is this way you have of talking and apparently of rather enjoying your public image as something of an outlaw, don't you think, realistically speaking as a politician, that this so-called outlaw image of yours, this go it alone Maverick thing is less likely to help you than to hurt you?

MALCOLM X:

I am not interested in help or ~~hurt~~^{hurt} as an individual. I am interested in the freedom, justice, and equality for 22 million black people in this country who have not been able to get it the polite way, and who have not been able to get it by trying to depict or project a polite image. Its time for the Negro to get angry and go after what is his by right by what ever method necessary.

DURSO:

Thank you MALCOLM X. We've been talking tonight and its been no secret during the last half hour with MALCOLM X, who yesterday made headlines by breaking with the Black Muslim movement of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and who is going it alone in this Black Nationalist movement.

4/9/64

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765) &
SAC, CLEVELAND (100-26888)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.; IS - X.

THE FOURTEEN, SIXTY FOUR EDITION OF "NEW
YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS," WEEKLY NEGRO NEWSPAPER OF NEW YORK
CITY, CONTAINS ARTICLE, ^{DATED AND CLEVELAND,} REFLECTING MALCOLM X "TOOK THE
RADIO WAVES AT THE HEIGHT OF RIOTING IN CLEVELAND TUESDAY
NIGHT AND ADVISED NEGROES TO FIGHT BACK." ARTICLE ALSO
INDICATED CLEVELAND POLICE WORRIED OVER A "NEGRO RIFLE
CLUB" FORMED BY A CITY EMPLOYEE, LOUIS ROBINSON.

CLEVELAND ATTEMPT TO VERIFY "FIGHT BACK" STATEMENT
BY MALCOLM X. CONTACT POLICE DEPARTMENT TO VERIFY FORMATION
OF GUN CLUB AND DETERMINE IDENTITY OF ROBINSON AND IF
HE IS AFFILIATED WITH MALCOLM OR NOT.

1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
1-New York

(4) **b7C**
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FBI

Date: 4/8/64

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(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)
 SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
 IS - NOI

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau, Boston, New Haven, New York and Washington Field are 10, 3, 6, 6 and 2 copies, respectively, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) pertaining to possible followers of MALCOLM LITTLE in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are, in order, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

The LHM is classified as confidential because data reported from the above sources, particularly [REDACTED] could result in the identification thereof and compromise future effectiveness.

- 5 - Bureau (Encl. 10)
 2 - 100-441765 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
 3 - Boston (97-145) (Encl. 3) (RM)
 1 - 100- (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
 1 - 100- (LOUIS X. WALCOTT)
 6 - New Haven (100-15927) (Encl. 6) (RM)
 2 - 100- (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
 1 - 100- (ABDUL)
 1 - 100- (FINNELL)
 ⑤ - New York (105-7809) (Encls. 6) (RM)
 2 - 100-152759 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
 ① - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)
 1 - 105- (JOSEPH GRAVITT)
 2 - Washington Field (100-22829) (Encl. 2) (RM)
 1 - 100- (LONNIE CROSS)

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 FBI - NEW YORK

See 1 page for copies

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5 - Chicago

b2 1 - 100-41040 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.)
b7c 1 - [REDACTED] (RAYMOND SHARRIEFF)
1 - 100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
1 - [REDACTED] (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, JR.)

JRS:mac
(27)

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ADMINISTRATIVE

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b7D The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was furnished by [REDACTED] on 4/3/64, who advised as follows:

67C [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had received a letter from the Messenger stating that [REDACTED] suggested combining Bridgeport and New Haven into one mosque. [REDACTED] was not in favor of this because it was involving a lot of confusion. [REDACTED] there had been a few in Bridgeport that had caused the trouble. [REDACTED] thought [REDACTED] might have straightened it out now. [REDACTED] those that are causing the trouble were followers of MALCOLM (MALCOLM LITTLE of New York City). [REDACTED] that this was one of the things that brought the situation on. [REDACTED] that they have had very good attendance in New Haven both on Sunday and on Tuesday nights. [REDACTED] suggested [REDACTED] write the Messenger and tell him this. [REDACTED] thought New Haven was worthy of a number the same as any other mosque. [REDACTED] desired to start an FOI but [REDACTED] suggested that they wait until later this month when [REDACTED] come to Chicago at which time they will discuss it.

67D [REDACTED] on April 4, 1964, furnished the following further information regarding ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's comments about MALCOLM LITTLE:

67E ELIJAH MUHAMMAD told [REDACTED] that he learned from one source and a little from another that "he" (possibly MALCOLM) is doing some of the most deceitful, distrustful and underhanded things possible; that "he" has been trying to get the one below [REDACTED] here [REDACTED] and also [REDACTED] to write a letter to all the mosques and has also been trying to get some of them to sign something. MUHAMMAD stated he is just finding out how sneaky and unfaithful he has been even while eating off the table. MUHAMMAD stated "he" is just a no good

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b7c
hypocrite and will not last long as ALLAH has had his eye on him for a long time. [REDACTED] should have no mercy on him and MUHAMMAD replied, "No, none at all".

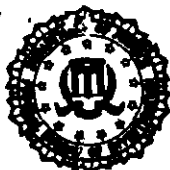
b7c
ELIJAH MUHAMMAD then stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] wrote a beautiful article in the paper on him.

MUHAMMAD continued: 'he' is so corrupt and has been working towards his own end all the time and just won't last long. ALLAH has been seeing him for what 'he' is for a long time. He is just thankful that ALLAH had him put him down. Even on Savior's Day the spirit was the best it has been in years just because the snake was not up there spitting out his venom as milk.

b7c
[REDACTED] has a couple of tapes from Boston that he is going to send the Messenger and that on the tape the brother tells how "he" is working amongst the hypocrites and weak brothers. [REDACTED] said he went out to investigate without getting the Captain's approval; that he was out there and exposed to it, and also how he works with these and works his way up to the believers and shows how they approach the people and what they say.

Chicago continues to follow pertinent developments regarding possible activities of MALCOLM LITTLE within the framework of various mosques in the NOI. Pertinent developments will be furnished the Bureau in communication suitable for dissemination.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
APRIL 8, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATION OF ISLAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

The Nation of Islam and Fruit of Islam have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and are characterized in later pages.

b7c A confidential informant in early April, 1964, advised [redacted] learned that there was dissension in the Nation of Islam group in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and that this dissension was caused by some of the membership of this group who were following Malcolm Little.

A second confidential informant advised in September, 1963, Raymond Sharrieff was the Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam and as such was considered to be one of the National Leaders of the Nation of Islam.

The March 13, 1964, edition of the "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20 which reflected that Malcolm X, the former head of the Nation of Islam Mosque in New York City, had broken with the Nation of Islam and with Elijah Muhammad on March 8, 1964, and that on March 12, 1964, Malcolm X had announced he would form his own mosque in New York City and it would be a meeting place for his muslim followers as well as the base of a politically oriented Black nationalist movement.

RECLASSIFIED BY 3/01 JDP/RJG
ON 8/13/84 8/11/77

ON

In release 190-5009-13
15-8994-4339

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APR 10 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

412

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

NATION OF ISLAM

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On March 16, 1964, [REDACTED]
Business Section, Clerk of Court, New York County, New York,
New York, advised that on March 16, 1964, incorporation papers
were filed for the Muslim Mosque, Inc.; that Malcolm Little
was one of the trustees of this corporation, and that the
principal place of worship was to be in the Borough of
Manhattan, New York County, New York.

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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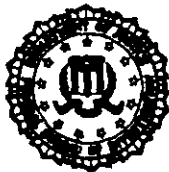
2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to characterize "Nation of Islam," "Muslim Girls Training" and/or "Fruit of Islam." Duplicated copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.

- ☐ For your information:

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NY 105-8999-4339 pages 3, 4

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Chicago, Illinois
APRIL 7, 1964

Title NATION OF ISLAM

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

**Reference is made to memorandum dated
 and captioned as above.**

All Sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Section 552

Section 552a

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SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

4/7/64

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NATION OF ISLAM
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1 - New York (105-7809) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (Info) (RM)

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b7C 1 - 100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
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105 - 8899 - 4327

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SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

4/6/64

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SA [REDACTED]

NATION OF ISLAM
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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1-New York (105-7809) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (Info) (RM)
7-Chicago

100-8989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)

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105-8995-4331

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APR 8 1964	
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Section 552

Section 552a

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| ☐ (b)(2) | ☐ (b)(7)(B) | ☐ (j)(2) |
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| _____ | ☐ (b)(7)(E) | ☐ (k)(3) |
| _____ | ☐ (b)(7)(F) | ☐ (k)(4) |
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| ☐ (b)(5) | ☐ (b)(9) | ☐ (k)(6) |
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NY 105-8999-4331 page 2

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Muhammad Speaks

BY ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
(The Messenger of Allah)

Divine Messengers Must Be Obeded

"And we sent no Messenger but that he should be obeyed by Allah's Command."

Holy Qur-an 4:64

The so-called American Negroes have never had a Divine Messenger sent to them before The Hon. Elijah Muhammad. Therefore, there will be much opposition to him from his people who want to lead and not be followers of others. Especially the middle class, the black Christian Preachers, the college and university students who feel so proud of their worldly



MR. MUHAMMAD

education and positions. They think their worldly learning and high position with the enemies of God will protect them against following the Divine Messenger of God. Wait and see.

The so-called Negroes should not be this type of people since they have the Bible, which is full of prophecies concerning the fate of those who rejected and opposed God's prophets. Allah's warning in the Holy Qur-an is very plain against the disobedient and opposers to His last Apostle. And he whom God has arisen among the so-called Negroes to be His Apostle is most surely the last Apostle; and the last people to whom the Divine Revelation and guidance is to come.

This is the time the Bible and Holy Qur-an refer to as the "Resurrection of the dead" (mentally dead or ignorant people) whom God wishes to make wise and set over the nations by His guidance and His infinite wisdom. After listening to what The Hon. Elijah Muhammad was taught by Allah, there is nothing left for another messenger to teach us of self, God and the devil. Messenger Elijah Muhammad's message to us fulfills the Bible and Holy Qur-an; for the last Messenger's message is to bring us face to face with the knowledge of God and the devils; that we may make our choice as to whom we shall serve.

The other Divine teaching, the Messenger says, is that which guides us into the Hereafter. I see one who ignores Messenger Elijah Muhammad's teaching in danger of hell fire. The Holy Qur-an warns us against imputing sin to Allah's Messengers, though the Bible and Holy Qur-an hold no one sinless. But the Holy Qur-an teaches us that Allah is sufficient as a judge for His Apostles, and the Bible verifies this. We just cannot be the judges of Divine Messengers. Obeying them is what Allah warns us to do.

Malcolm disobeyed the Apostle of Allah. Malcolm was told by the Messenger of Allah to keep quiet until he told him to speak again. This, Malcolm did not do. So after a ninety-day period, the Messenger said to Malcolm: You did not keep quiet, so now I will wait until you be quiet before I give you permission to speak in public. Malcolm answered the Messenger of Allah by meeting the press and television, announcing to the pub-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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DATE 1/24/84 BY 8269 JHE/

59 THE NEW CRUSADER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 4-4-64
Edition: WEEKLY
Author: ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
Editor: BALMILL. LEAVELL, JR.
Title:

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Character:

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Classification: 100-35635
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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APR 10 1964

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105-8999-3302

lie that he was going for self (not by the guidance of Allah and His Messenger, Elijah Muhammad). Malcolm's action tell us that Allah and His Messenger is too slow in bringing judgment upon the enemies of the so-called Negroes.

Malcolm has ordered the so-called Negroes to arm themselves with shotguns and rifles and shoot when attacked (though the Messenger teaches us that Allah warned him against taking up the enemies arms against the enemies). Allah's orders to Messenger Elijah Muhammad is the same as those given to the Prophets of old: Moses had only a rod; Noah had nothing but the word; Lot had nothing but the word, and Messenger Elijah Muhammad had nothing but the word of Allah against the arms of the police. In Detroit, Michigan, April, 1934, and in Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1935, Allah slew the Police Captain in the police court while trying one of Messenger Muhammad's followers. There was a display of firearms by the police against the unarmed group of Muslim men and women. Allah showed who should be killed.

Messenger Elijah Muhammad puts his trust in Allah; Malcolm is going to trust himself. I am sorry for the poor fools who refuse to trust the God of The Hon. Elijah Muhammad, and follow Malcolm for self-victory. Malcolm says that he is going to set up a Mosque for himself and followers. I am sure that Malcolm has not believed The Hon. Elijah Muhammad to be the Messenger of Allah. If he did, he would be afraid for his future.

This Mosque is mentioned in the Holy Qur-an 9:107: "They build the Mosque to cause disunity and to sow dissension among the Muslims and to afford shelter to the enemies of Islam." Allah destroyed the hypocrites' Mosque with a wind which caused the roof to fall in on them while having a meeting. The Holy Qur-an 9:73 teaches the Apostle to strive hard against the hypocrites and to be firm against them.

**HURRY AND JOIN ONTO
YOUR OWN KIND! THE TIME
OF THIS WORLD IS AT HAND!**

WRITE TO:

**MUHAMAD'S MOSQUE No 2
5335 South Greenwood Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60615
ELIJAH MUHAMMAD,
MESSENGER OF ALLAH**

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

105-10-63472-1

File 105 6944 43744308 Date 5/2/71
Class. ☐ Pending ☒ Closed Case No. Last Serial

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to
Bureau per Kenneth
4/12/72
67C *[Redacted]* *S.*
Chambers M. Kelly

43
Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk { } Date { }

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DATE 1/24/84 BY SP8 BTJ/WB/ld

Employee

Location

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via A I R T E L~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4-3-64

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : Director, FBI
 ATTENTION: Civil Rights Section,
 General Investigative Division

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia (157-991) (P)

SUBJECT: NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CONVENTION,
 CHESTER, PA., 3/14/64
 RM

Remytels 3/13 and 14/64, Philadelphia airtel dated
 3/17/64 and Bureau airtel dated 3/24/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of
 a letterhead memorandum (LHM), with two copies being forwarded
 to New York and one copy each to Albany, Baltimore, Chicago,
 and Washington Field.

The purpose of this LHM is to replace the LHM dated
 3/17/64, which lacked a characterization of MALCOLM X.

Copies of this LHM are also being furnished to OSI,
 ONI, and IMTC, Philadelphia, with a request that the LHM of
 3/17/64 be destroyed.

- 3 - Bureau (Encs.-8) (RM)
- 2 - Albany (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Encs.-2) (RM)
- 1 - 100-152759
- 1 - 105-8999
- 1 - Washington Field (Enc.-1) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (157-991)

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FBI - NEW YORK	

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

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Per _____

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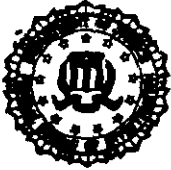
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

April 3, 1964

NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CONVENTION,
CHESTER, PA., MARCH 14, 1964

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b7c
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A characterization of the Nation of Islam appears
in the Appendix to this memorandum.

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b7D [REDACTED]

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ON *11/25/81*

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105-8999-4324

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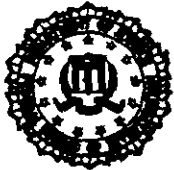
☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-4324 pages 2-7

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

April 3, 1964

Title: NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS
CONVENTION, CHESTER, PA.,
MARCH 14, 1964

Reference: Letterhead memorandum dated and
captioned as above, at Philadel-
phia, Pennsylvania.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
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your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

MALCOLM X CHARTS NEW 'NEGRO

DEFENSE' GROUP WITHOUT CLAY

By ART SEARS JR.

The Negro is justified in doing whatever is necessary to protect himself, declared ex-Black Muslim leader Malcolm X. "That means WHATEVER is necessary," Malcolm asserted in an exclusive interview with JET.

His explanation came following the announcement that he planned to head a new black nationalistic organization designed to uplift Negroes and to aid them in their quest for equality, despite the fact that he still feels that "the main Negro problem cannot be solved" because it is "moral and mental."

Malcolm said the new organization would probably be called "The Muslim Mosque, Inc." or "The Mosque Of Islam, Inc.," and will be religiously-based and foster black nationalism politically. While similar in many respects to the Black Muslims, the new organization will have certain unique aspects including plans "to work with established civil rights groups where we can agree on any common objectives. In a question-answer form, Malcolm had these explanations about his newly-conceived organization:

Q—How large will your organization be?

A—We're after 22 million so-called Negroes.

Q—What sort of structure will it have, such as staff and headquarters?

A—That will be spelled out at a later date. I don't think that the organizational structure will ever be revealed to the public.

Q—Will you solicit funds?

A—All of that is in the future. Definitely, however, any religious organization solicits funds and we will seek the backing of the entire community because our objectives will be designed for the betterment of the entire community.

Q—How long will it take to establish your basic working organization?

A—Well, I was involved in the establishment and organization of almost every Mosque the Honorable Elijah Muhammad has above No. 10, I believe. So, I have some

Chicago CLIPPING FROM THE
-B-4- JET Magazine
EDITION weekly
DATED 4-2-64
PAGE 54

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105-8999-423 100-15673

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for 105-8999
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idea of what it takes to get a group of people together and to get them properly organized. I think that it will be done overnight because our people in this country are just that ready.

Q—Despite your pronouncements, don't you feel that members of the Muslims will follow you?

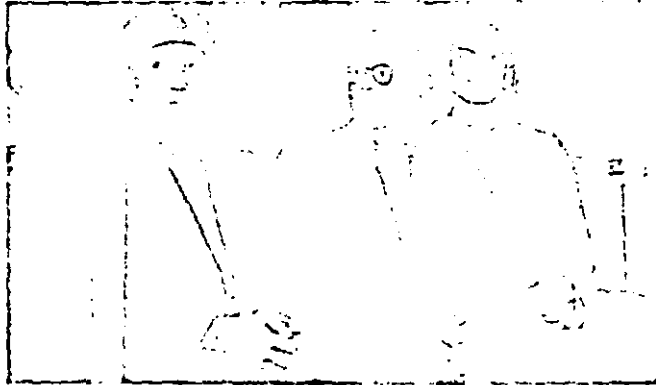
A—My hope is that they remain under the spiritual guidance and the organizational leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. I have no intention whatsoever of influencing any kind of split or rivalry between us and the followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. My intentions are to work among the non-Muslim Negroes.

Q—Will this bring about a name change or will you continue to use Malcolm X?

A—I'll be Malcolm X. I like that. I believe in what Mr. Muhammad teaches, that is that "X" represents the unknown and that Negroes in this country don't know who they are. I still don't know who I am, so I'll use "X."

Q—What is your relationship with Cassius Clay?

A—He and I are brothers. We're probably very good



Before big split, Malcolm X (r) and Chicago minister James Shabazz shared platform with leader Elijah Muhammad (l).

Says Negroes Must Kill If Needed To Protect Self
personal friends. I admire him and I respect him, not only for his physical ability as heavyweight champion of the world but for his untapped intellectual and spiritual potential.

Q—Will he be with you in the new organization?

A—No. My advice to Brother Cassius would be not to become involved in any kind of dispute or misunderstanding that will in any way be detrimental to his positive image as heavyweight champion of the world.

Q—How far do you visualize your organization going in active self-defense of Negroes against the white man?

A—The very fact that you say against the white man shows that you realize that he is the opponent. I think that white people in this country should be made to realize that if something isn't done to bring an immediate halt to the oppression and brutality that is being inflicted upon Negroes, then the Negro should be considered justified in doing whatever is necessary to protect himself. That means WHATEVER is necessary to protect himself. He shouldn't initiate any aggressive action, but he is within his rights—self-defense is defensible in any court of law.

Q—You were quoted as saying that you visualize this new organization as helping Negroes and civil rights groups wherever requested. You added, however, that the "main Negro problem cannot be solved." Please explain.

A—It's moral and mental. The vices that our people are addicted to have actually destroyed the moral fiber of the Negro community which has had the chain reaction effect of lowering the morals so that the Negro now doesn't even have the incentive to go to school to become technically equipped to even function in a highly developed society. So, you have to start right at the basis of what is destroying the Negroes' morals and incentive. And that is the vices which run rampant in the Negro community. Drug addiction, alcoholism that lead to the breaking up of the home and destruction of the family unit. All of this has to be attacked. And the religion of Islam, as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, gets right to the root of that.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 4/2/64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] #341

SUBJECT: MALCOLM LITTLE
IS - X

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

2- 105-8999
1/ New York

Classified by 8269
Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FBI - NEW YORK
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 4/1/64

FROM : SUPV. [REDACTED] #341

SUBJECT: MALCOLM LITTLE
IS - X

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5- New York

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105-89954320

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SAO (100-NEW)

4/1/64

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SA [REDACTED]

NATIONAL NEGRO CONFERENCE
FOR SCHOOL BOYCOTT;
IS - C

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Section 552

Section 552a

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3/30/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:NY)

Re NY teletype dated 3/29/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five (5) copies of a LHM concerning the MMI open rally held in NYC on 3/29/64, at which MALCOLM LITTLE spoke.

The confidential source is [REDACTED]

Information from [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

It is noted that a review of the 3/30/64, edition of "The New York Times" revealed no article on or mention of the MMI open rally on 3/29/64.

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DATE 1/25/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEL3/dcl

3-Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (412)
1-New York

ABF:mvb
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1-Supervisor #412

15-8999-4316

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New York, New York
March 30, 1964

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 29, 1964, that on that date the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), held an open rally from 8:00 p.m. to 10:20 p.m., in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 167th Street, New York, New York.

On March 12, 1964, Malcolm X Little publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, the philosophy of which will be black nationalism.

According to this source the featured speaker was Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the MMI, who spoke on the subject "Ballots or Bullets". In his speech Malcolm X urged all Negroes to register to vote, and suggested that those negroes who do not register should be "run out of town". He gave no voting instructions at this time. Malcolm X also characterized as "fools" those Negro American soldiers fighting and dying for white American in Viet Nam.

Also in his speech Malcolm X stressed the ultimate goal of the MMI which is the return of all Negroes to Africa. He also announced that he plans to make a trip to Africa in the future, but no date was given.

5-Bureau (100-441765)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (412)
1-New York (100-152759)

(8)

1-Supervisor #412

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105-8999-435

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

b7C
b7D [REDACTED] verified
on March 29, 1964, that the above MM open rally
was held and that Malcolm X was the speaker.
[REDACTED] advised that the estimated attendance
at the rally was 600.

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Section 552a

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Section 552

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 3-16-64

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (412)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - NOI

On 3-12-64, subject held a press conference in the Tapestry Suite of the Park Sheraton Hotel, 7th Ave. & 55th St., NYC, beginning at 11:00 am.

The writer and SA [REDACTED] attended the conference. Results of the conference are set forth in NY airtel and LHM dated 3-13-64, captioned "MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC., IS - X."

During the course of the conference, mimeograph copies of several items were made available to the press, and were obtained. These items were:

- 1) Statement to press by LITTLE on 3-8-64.
- 2) Text of telegram to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD from LITTLE on 3-11-64.
- 3) Text of statement to press made at the opening of the above press conference on 3-12-64.

Copies of item 1 and 2 above, are being placed in the 1A file of subject. Copies of items 1, 2 and 3 above are being placed in the 1A file of MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC., NY 100-152759.

1- 100-152759 (Muslim Mosque, Inc.) (412)

① 105-8999

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Section 552

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4/6/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441735)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759) (P)
SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOQUE, INC.
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: NEW YORK)

ReAirtel, 4/5/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies and for Charlotte one copy of an LHM relative to the open rally held by LHM in NYC on 4/5/64.

The confidential source who furnished the information in [REDACTED]

The information was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

The sources used to characterize MALLORY are, in order:

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3-Bureau (ENC. 5) (RM)
1-Charlotte [REDACTED] (WILLIE MAE MALLORY) (ENC. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1-New York [REDACTED] (WILLIE MAE MALLORY) (413)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X LITTLE) (412) 105-8999-4295
1-New York

APR 1964
(8)

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APR 7 - 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

New York, New York
April 6, 1964

**Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Miscellaneous**

On April 5, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the scheduled open rally of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) was held in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York, New York, from 8:10 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. on April 5, 1964. The main speaker was Malcolm X.

On March 12, 1964, Malcolm X Little publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, the philosophy of which will be black nationalism.

This source advised that Malcolm X spoke on the subject of "Human Rights and Civil Rights" to an audience of approximately 500 persons. In his speech, Malcolm X urged all Negroes to work toward their own political, economic and social independence. The main theme of his speech was "black nationalism," and he reiterated the MMI aim of complete separation of the races as the only solution to the Negro problem in the United States. He also accused the Government of genocide against Negroes, citing the lynching of Negroes down through the years as evidence of this. Malcolm X also explicated the need of Negroes to control their own political fortunes, and urged them to accomplish this by registering and voting.

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105-8599-4294

Harlin Mosque, Incorporated

This source also advised that Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory was present in the audience.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 17, 1959, that Jim Mallory, while addressing a meeting of the Harlem Region Communist Party (CP) on February 11, 1959, identified Willie Mae Mallory as a member of the CP.

A third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 6, 1959, that Jim Mallory was organizer of the Harlem CP as of March, 1959.

The February 29, 1964 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 9, datelined Monroe, North Carolina,

This article reflected that Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory of New York City, was sentenced to 15 to 20 years in Superior Court, Monroe, North Carolina, following the conviction of her and three others for the kidnapping of a white couple after an interracial disturbance in 1961. State's evidence indicated she was the ringleader of the incident.

On March 18, 1964, a fourth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory was out on bond.

Malcolm X Ignores Brother

By JAMES BOOKER

Accused by his own brother and leaders of the Black Muslims of being a traitor and a "Judas," Malcolm X this week shrugged off the charges asserting that the accusations "are evidence that somewhere on the inside of the group they're worried."

"Many Muslims are coming with us, both in New York and other cities, and overtures are being made to me to establish mosques in other cities," Malcolm told the Amsterdam News.

Malcolm's brother, who allegedly introduced him into the Black Muslim Movement, denounced his brother as "following a dangerous course which parallels those set by Brutus, Judas, Benedict Arnold, and others who betrayed the relationship between them and their leaders."

The brother, Philbert X, minister of Muhammad's mosques in

three Michigan cities, accused Malcolm of "resentment" in setting up the new group, and hinted that he might be suffering from a mental illness.

As Philbert was blasting his brother, the Muslim's newspaper, in two special articles this week bitterly attacked Malcolm of splitting because he wanted to replace Elijah Muhammad as leader of the Black Muslims.

Meanwhile Malcolm, who has launched on a speaking tour of several cities, plans to launch a massive registration drive in Harlem within the next few weeks. "To see that every black face behind every door is registered."

Addressing more than 1,000 persons at a rally last Sunday at the Audubon Ballroom, Malcolm said that he has already received assurances of cooperation from student groups throughout the country to help in the registration drive.

"Any Negro who doesn't have the sense of responsibility to get registered should be moved out of town," Malcolm told the cheering crowd.

Malcolm also indicated that on the basis of his visit to the U.S. Senate last week, he is planning to organize "all the uncontrollable elements in the country for a New March on Washington if the Senate filibusters on the civil rights bill after May 1. There should be no filibuster when the basic rights of Negroes are involved," he declared.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Amsterdam News

EDITION _____

DATE 4/4/64

PAGE 1

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APR 6 - 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

WC

4/3/64

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)
SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO: NY)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 5 copies of a LHM relative to the appearance of MALCOLM X LITTLE before the Brooklyn Methodist Ministers Association in Brooklyn, NY, on 4/2/64.

3 - BUREAU (100-441765) (Encl. 5) (RM)
1 - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X LITTLE) (412)
1 - NY 100-152759 (412)

ABF:mfd (#412)
(6)

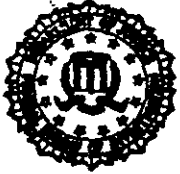
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DATE 1/25/84 BY 8267JHE/UEB/22

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APR 8 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

412



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

100-441765

New York, New York
April 3, 1964

Re: Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

The April 3, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 23 concerning a talk by Malcolm X on April 2, 1964, before 40 ministers of the Brooklyn Methodist Ministers Association at the John Wesley Methodist Church, 260 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, New York.

On March 12, 1964, Malcolm X Little publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Inc., the philosophy of which will be black nationalism.

In his talk before this integrated group at their regular monthly breakfast meeting, Malcolm X indicated he would follow the method of evangelist Billy Graham by preaching the gospel of black nationalism to Negroes without asking them to join his organization, but rather urging them to join any existing civil rights organization. He stated that the day of the Negro turning the other cheek is over, and added: "When the government will not protect the Negro, they must be willing to protect themselves."

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105-8999 - 4291

Re: Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

Malcolm X further stated that he had no confidence in the "legality or morality of the white man", but he did have confidence in the white man's "intelligence to do something about the Negro situation in America."

He also stated that he planned to call a conference of all civil rights groups in August, and hoped at that time to "organize a political party or an army to get results in 1964."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MALCOLM X PLANS MUSLIM CRUSADE

Tells Clerics He'll Preach
as Billy Graham Does

By JUNIUS GRIFFIN

Malcolm X, the insurgent Black Muslim leader, said yesterday that he would preach the gospel of Black Nationalism in the same manner that the evangelist Billy Graham spreads the gospel of Christ.

Malcolm spoke before 40 members of the Brooklyn Methodist Ministers Association at the John Wesley Methodist Church, 200 Quincy Street.

"I am taking my cue from methods used by Billy Graham to preach the gospel of Christ," the Negro told the integrated group. "I will preach the gospel of Black Nationalism to Negroes without asking them to join my organization, but rather urging them to go out and join any existing civil rights organization."

Asked by a white minister whether he thought there were any good white people, Malcolm X replied: "I do not say there are no sincere white people, but rather that I haven't met any."

'Must Protect Themselves'

He told the ministers that the day when the Negro turned the other cheek was over.

"Where the government will not protect the Negro, they must be willing to protect themselves," he said.

Malcolm appeared before the clergymen at their regular monthly breakfast meeting. The ministers' association is headed by the Rev. James McGraw.

The Black Muslim told the ministers that he was calling a conference for mid August of all civil rights groups. He hopes at that time to "organize a political party or an army to get results in 1961," he said.

"I have no confidence in the legality or morality of the white man," Malcolm went on, "but I do have confidence in his intelligence to do something about the Negroes' situation in America."

Meanwhile leaders of the splintered Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, headed by the Rev. Dr. Milton A. Galamison, will meet tonight in an effort to erase dissension in their ranks.

Officials from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality have agreed to attend.

Reunion Expected

The national officers of the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE supported the first boycott of the school system called by Dr. Galamison but declined to support the second.

Dr. Galamison expects tonight's meeting to bring the two national organizations under his umbrella civil rights group without altering the organization's present philosophy or leadership.

Mrs. Thelma Johnson, coordinator of the Harlem Parents Committee and executive secretary of the Citywide Committee, said:

"Speaking for both of the groups, I assure you that we will not realign or alter our committee or its leadership in any way."

Mrs. Johnson said the committee would continue to welcome the support of Malcolm X.

"We will not reject the assistance and support of anyone, as long as they remain nonviolent," she said.

The special unity meeting will be held at 8 P.M. in the Community Church of New York, 40 East 35th Street.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

23 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 4/3/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: JUNIUS GRIFFIN
Editor: TURNER CATLEDGE
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

UNDER INVESTIGATION
Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

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FBI - NEW YORK

4/2/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-41040)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS-X; RACIAL MATTERS

OO: NEW YORK

Re Chicago tel dated 3/29/64, setting forth results of a press conference as contained in the "Chicago Tribune" of that date, which was held by MALCOLM X on 3/28/64, in Chicago.

Re tel stated that MALCOLM X asserted he was misquoted in the press when he urged Negroes to buy rifles at the time of formation of the Black National Group and claimed he said that Negroes should have rifles to defend themselves in those parts of the country where the Government cannot or will not defend them. On 4/1/64, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who covered the above press conference, provided the following information confidentially to SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X was not specifically asked at the conference whether or not he recommended formation of "rifle clubs" or whether he recommends Negroes carrying rifles in demonstrations. He said that self-defense is not violence and that he believed in "non-violence", which meant that as long as violence was

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York
 (1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (RM)
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

CES:MRS
(7)

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FBI - NEW YORK	

CG 100-41040

not being used against the Negro, then the Negro should not use violence, but if the whites use violence against the Negroes, then the Negroes are entitled to use violence in return.

MALCOLM also stated that it was too early to know how much of a following he has and that he suspects to obtain support of members of various Negro groups and individuals including members of the Black Muslims. He added he still considered himself to be a Muslim; however, did not elaborate in that regard. He stated that as of the time of the press conference, he had no following in Chicago.

It is noted that the results of the above mentioned press conference have previously been submitted to the Bureau in form suitable dissemination.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Boycotters Plan to Bar Malcolm X

By WOODY KLEIN
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Negro civil rights leaders plotting the school boycotts plan to reject the support of Malcolm X, it was learned today.

The leader of the Black Nationalists will be repudiated reportedly because grass roots members in the civil rights drive believe he is hurting their case.

It was also understood that the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, controversial spearhead of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, was ready to step down as sole director of the campaign.

Meeting Tomorrow

These developments are scheduled to take place tomorrow night at a special meeting of rights leaders at the Community Church of New York, 40 E. 35th St.

In recent weeks there has been widespread concern over Mr. Galamison's unexpected alliance with Malcolm X and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. This trio emerged from the last school boycott as a potential power.

The new triumvirate is

viewed as a threat to the prestige and power of existing civil rights groups, however. A unity meeting was called for the express purpose of regrouping and presenting a united front.

As part of this new front Mr. Galamison reportedly has been persuaded to relinquish some of the power he has gained in recent months.

Persuaded to Re-Unit

It was understood that members of CORE, NAACP, Harlem Parents Committee and the Parents Workshop for Equality Mr. Galamison's own group) prevailed upon the outspoken minister to re-unite with them for the sake of integration.

Several rights groups did not join in the second school boycott because they reportedly objected to Mr. Galamison's apparent refusal — up to that time — to share the leadership reins.

Mr. Galamison could not be reached for comment.

It was understood the rights leaders will assume a "hands off" policy towards Bayard Rustin, director of the March on Washington, and Powell, the erratic Harlem Congressman.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 NEW YORK WORLD
TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 4/2/64
Edition: METRO
Author: WOODY KLEIN
Editor: RICHARD D. PETE
Title: RACIAL SITUATIONS

Character:

or

Classification: BU 157-

Submitting Office: NYO

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Malcolm X Says Freedom Price Is Blood

By MEL JUFFE

"The price of freedom is blood and if blood frightens you, then, freedom frightens you."

While neatly-dressed "bodyguards" stood at attention ear his speaker's platform, Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X delivered this message to a cheering crowd of 500 last night in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and W. 186th st.

Malcolm, who has urged Negroes to arm "in self-defense," went a step further, urging Black Nationalists to study the example of terrorist groups that specialized in assassination, bombings and armed robbery.

"When Israel was getting its independence," Malcolm lectured his audience in the half-filled ballroom, "it had a moderate group called Haganah that was getting nothing."

"It was the Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists that brought about everything. Conservatives and moderates don't get nothing."

During the mid-1940s, the Sternists and Irgunists waged a reign of terror against the British and Arabs in an extremist off-shoot of Israel's fight for independence. The chief difference in their tactics was the Isgun custom of warning victims before setting off bombs.

Malcolm leveled his verbal guns at a number of targets. He termed whites "blue-eyed hypocrites" and Police Commr. Murphy "a devil."

BLASTS RIGHTS GROUPS

He bitterly denounced Elijah Muhammed's "Nation of Islam," and castigated Negro civil rights groups, which seek integration as opposed to his program for "separation."

Malcolm adviser his listeners — who frequently chanted, "That's right!" — that he couldn't be completely candid with them because of the presence of newspaper reporters, whom he characterized as "wolves."

The ousted Black Muslim confided:

"There's a whole lot more I mean that I don't say."

He concluded his 2½-hour speech by saying:

"Let's keep Jesus out of here. Let's keep Abraham out. But maybe Moses is all right. He at least said: 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'"

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Journal American

EDITION latest news

DATE 3-30-64

PAGE 3

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm Maps Negro Vote Drive

Malcolm X, the militant Black Nationalist leader who is urging Negroes to form rifle clubs for their own defense, last night told a cheering Harlem rally that the "Ballot is as powerful as the bullet."

Speaking before an Easter night gathering of nearly 1,000 persons at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, the former top propagandist for the Black Muslims promised a massive voter registration drive among the city's Negro population.

Malcolm said he had already received assurances of coopera-

tion from student groups throughout the country to help "map out" Harlem and see that "every black face behind every door" is registered to vote.

Predicting the most intensive voter registration drive in Harlem's history, Malcolm declared that any Negro who doesn't have the "sense of responsibility to get registered should be moved out of town."

Though emphasizing political action rather than violence, there was no softening of the tone of his remarks about the white man—how he called at one point an "outright devil."

But his most bitter shafts were reserved for the white liberal, who, he said, had been "keeping us barking up the wrong direction."

Malcolm said that the white liberal, up to now, had "controlled the civil rights struggle" and had induced the Negro civil rights leaders to "settle for crumbs." His audience interjected, "That's right," and stamped their feet approvingly as Malcolm demanded "back pay" for "310 years of slave labor contributed to the economy of the U. S."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 NEW YORK POST

Date: 3/30/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

UNDER INVESTIGATION
Character: SM-NOI

or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MUSLIMS PLANNED MIS- DEATH MALCOLM X SAYS

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 CHICAGO COURIER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-28-64
Edition: WEEKLY
Author: BURLEIGH HINES, JR.
Editor: S. B. FULLER
Title:

~~NOT~~

Character:

or

Classification: 100-35635

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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Chi Spokesman Claims Charge Is Ridiculous

BY BURLEIGH HINES, JR.

A spokesman for the Chicago based Black Muslims called as "foolishness" the widely circulated story that there was a plot within the Muslim sect to murder Malcolm X to his split with the group.

Malcolm X had said: "If truth wasn't stronger than a knife, I would have been murdered in February. He said that he was saved because his former followers in New York Mosque No. 7 "had heard me represent and defend Muhammad for too long for them to swallow lies."

John Ali, national secretary of the Muslims, said that such talk was "foolishness" and was the "thinking of little minds."

"Great minds rise above such foolishness," said Mr. Ali. "We don't go around talking about killing people because we do not advocate force in any way. And we don't have anything to do with anyone who deviates from this belief."

Mr. Ali said his leader, Elijah Muhammad, was in Phoenix, Ariz., and apparently hadn't heard of Malcolm's latest pronouncements.

Malcolm named a Captain Joseph and an assistant minister Henry X in relation to what he called a plot to oust him from the Muslims.

"I never left the Muslim Movement on my own," he said. "Those who envied my increasing successes conspired together to force me out. After announcing to the Muslims at Mosque No. 7 that I would be back in 90 days if I submitted gracefully to my suspension, Captain Joseph teamed with the assistant minister Henry X to make it impossible for me to return."

Malcolm said the New York Muslims had been complaining heavily against Captain Joseph for years. He said he made a "quiet" request to Chicago in early November for Joseph's removal as Captain. (Captains can only be removed from the Chicago office.) "I was told to wait until Mr. Muhammad came to New York in December, but on December 3 it was I who was suspended, silenced and eventually removed."

Mr. Ali said that Captain Joseph and assistant Minister Henry X are still with the New York Mosque, "as are all the other New York members."

Mr. Ali, who just returned from an east coast visit, said that "all is well in the New York Mosques."

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Malcolm Tells Attempt On Life; Hits Brother

Brother Malcolm, formerly Malcolm X of the Black Muslims, revealed an attempt on his life refused to talk by telephone with his brother (who last week denounced him) and declared that he is still a follower of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, from whom he separated several weeks ago.

"It is a fact," he said, "that an effort was made to get someone to remove me from the land of the living."

Praising the Islamic God, Allah, Malcolm stated that when he was informed of the assassin's identity, "I had a chance to give them a little knowledge that opened their eyes and made it impossible for someone to misuse them."

Malcolm, in declining to reveal the would-be-assassin's identity and persons responsible, said, "Well, I believe that every man is born to die. Whenever you are involved in a struggle against injustice, I think you have to realize in advance the price you are going to have to pay."

Philbert X. Malcolm's blood brother, said last week, "Malcolm wants to slander, slurs and intimidation of Mr. Mu-

hammad. He will do or say anything to gain mention and news coverage."

Malcolm denied he authored plans for a "Black Nationalist Army," as several newspapers quoted him, and said that "the only name I know of our organization is the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated."

Malcolm visibly angered a few white reporters during the conference when he fielded their questions in regarding the "practicality" of Negro organizations advocating self-defense. "Non-violence is outdated," he said. "You whites have made violence a crime... This is a violent country."

Particularly, Malcolm stated that he has aligned himself with Rev. Milton A. Galamison, leader of the second New York City school boycott; Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, and others.

Denying that he "broken with the Muslims," Malcolm said that he remains a faithful Muslim, adhering to the teachings of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. He pointed out that he has received the support and approval of many foreign-born Muslims in the U.S.

Malcolm said his brother, "is dumb enough to let someone put a script in his hand and read it."

During an off-the-air coffee break taken by the entire panel, which included Senator Paul Douglas and NAACP attorney Robert King, Malcolm was informed that a call from Philbert X. had been received in the studio.

Malcolm refused to take the call after a director suggested that he talk on the phone on the air. He was then asked about his suspension by Mr. Muhammad because of some allegedly disrespectful remarks he made about the late President John F. Kennedy.

Malcolm reminded the panel that he used the phrase

"chickens coming home to roost," during a speech entitled "God's Judgment of White America," at the Manhattan Center after the President's assassination. He said that he was suspended by Muhammad because he disobeyed an order by the leader, prohibiting any Muslim from mentioning Kennedy's name in public.



BROTHER MALCOLM

CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

WEEKLY EDITION

DATE 3-30-64

PAGE 2 COL. 1

EDITOR:
JOHN SENGSTACKE

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MALCOLM X

Malcolm X Backs Negro Rights Fight

Malcolm X, leader of the dissident group of the Black Muslim sect, said Saturday he will support other Negro leaders in their quest of civil rights, altho "I am not an advocate of civil rights.

"What I want is separation, not integration," said Malcolm X.

"You can't force blacks on whites and you can't force whites on blacks. That's a fact.

He's for Desegregation

"However, I am for desegregation, just as people such as Adam Clayton Powell and Martin Luther King. I will help them with anything, as long as it isn't a compromise of my religion.

"Then when they find that the civil rights they seek are not the answer, I will push on for separation."

He said he had supported a recent school boycott in New York City and that he plans to aid in voter registration and rent strike programs there.

Malcolm denied his recent plea for Negroes to arm themselves was an attempt to stir up an offensive. He was here for a television show.

Claims He's Misquoted

"I was misquoted," he said. "What I said was that in areas where the government doesn't provide protection, Negroes should protect themselves.

"The Constitution provides that a Negro may own a rifle, and I believe he should in places like Birmingham.

Malcolm X said he is opposed to nonviolence.

"What I advocate is non-violence," he said. "This is a violent country, but the term violence seems to have a different tone when it's used by Negroes."

CHICAGO'S SUNDAY

AMERICAN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FIVE STAR FINAL

DATE *3/19/64*

PAGE *2* COL *4*

EDITOR LUKE CARROLL

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Malcolm X Not Upset by Brother's Attack

Malcolm X, former Black Muslim leader and now head of what he calls the Black Nationalist party, said here yesterday that his brother, Philbert, a Black Muslim minister, was using someone else's words when he attacked him last Thursday for splitting with the Black Muslims.

Malcolm, in Chicago to appear on a television show, said at a press conference that he thinks his brother was forced to make the statement, but he wouldn't say who it was that applied the force.

Calls Malcolm a "Brutus"

Philbert X, a Muslim minister in Michigan, by implication called Malcolm "a Brutus, a Benedict Arnold" for breaking with the Muslims and said Malcolm may be the victim of "great mental illness."

Malcolm asserted that he was misquoted in the press when he urged Negroes to buy rifles at the time he announced the formation of the Black Nationalist group.

"What I said," he continued, "was that they should have the

rifles to defend themselves in those parts of the country where the government either can't or won't defend them."

Tells His Aims

Malcolm said that the aims of the Black Nationalist movement are political, economic, and social, rather than religious. As such, he added, it will be able to work to bring equality for Negroes that the Muslims, who never take an active part, can not do.

He said it will encourage Negroes to form their own economic base by owning factories and hiring other Negroes, will work to eradicate alcoholism and drug addiction among Negroes, and take whatever political action it can.

He added that he doubts if Negroes in the United States will ever get equality without outside help and that their case should be taken up in the United Nations.

"The Negro will never get justice in Uncle Sam's courts," he said. "He will be forced to take Uncle Sam into the world court."

CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

2 Star City Edition

Date 3-29-64

Page 20 Col. 4 Part 3

Editor: W. D. MAXWELL

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Brother Fears What I Will Say: Malcolm X

Malcolm X, a former leader of the Black Muslims, said Friday that fear of what he might say inspired an attack by his brother Philbert X, from within the Muslim camp.

Philbert, a minister of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam in a four-city Michigan area, bitterly condemned Malcolm at a press conference here Thursday for trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Philbert, one of Malcolm's two elder brothers, called Malcolm "cunning and clever" and said his "reckless efforts . . . will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

In response, Malcolm said, "Evidently, my brother is afraid of what I am going to say. He is afraid of what I know that I have not said. He feels he is a prophet and knows what I am going to do, and he is attempting to prepare the people."

Malcolm made his comments in New York during a telephone conversation with the Associated Press.

As to reports that he had changed his name from Malcolm X to Brother Malcolm, he said, "No. That was a misunderstanding. A newspaper asked how he should address

me, and I said 'I'm just Brother Malcolm.' I've been called Brother Malcolm in conversation a long time."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslims after a dispute with the movement's chief religious leader, Elijah Muhammad, recently announced he was form-

ing his own sect. At that time he said:

"It is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the nonviolent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FIVE STAR FINAL TURF

DATE: 3/28/64

PAGE 3 COL. 5

EDITOR: JOHN G. TREZEVANT

CHICAGO OFFICE

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False Muslim Prophet

In New York, Malcolm X, factional Black Muslim leader, claimed his program for Negroes has aroused fine response across the nation despite opposition from Elijah Muhammad, top leader of the Black Muslims, and from Malcolm's brother, Philbert X, a Muslim minister in Michigan.

Malcolm said he was "not at all excited" by Philbert's attack on him from Chicago. Philbert charged that Malcolm is a false prophet leading Negroes into violence, bloodshed, and loss of life.

"They are in such a desperate position out there in Chicago," Malcolm said, "that they have used my blood brother to make charges against me."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

3 STAR SPORTS FINAL

DATE 3-28-64

PAGE 7 COL 1 SECTION 1

EDITOR: W. D. MAXWELL

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105-8999-4274

HIT MALCOLM X AS 'JUDAS'

Brother Accuses His Brother Of Betraying Aides

The man who takes credit for introducing Malcolm X to the Black Muslim movement — his own brother — has denounced the black nationalist leader and compared him to the history's most well-known traitors.

Philbert X, minister of Muhammad's mosques in Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Flint, Mich., said in Chicago Thursday that his brother is following a "dangerous course," and predicted bloodshed would result.

Philbert, who is married and the father of six children, told newsmen that Malcolm's recent resignation from the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad was an act of "resentment."



Malcolm X

CHICAGO DEFENDER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Daily
WEEKLY EDITION

DATE *4/28 4/3/64*

PAGE 1 COL. 7

EDITOR:
JOHN SENGSTACKE

CHICAGO OFFICE

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FBI — NEW YORK	

67C

He stated:

"I am the one who brought Malcolm into the movement more than 10 years ago, and I saw him raised to a place of honor and respect because of Mr. Muhammad."

"Now, I see my brother pursuing dangerous courses, which parallel those set by Brutus, Judas, Benedict Arnold, and others who betrayed the relationship between them and their leaders."

Malcolm recently announced formation of a new, militant organization, suggested that Negroes carry firearms to protect themselves, and hinted this week that he might form a "black nationalist army."

Terming such a course dangerous, Philbert stated:

"I can see that the reckless effort of my brother will cause many of our unsuspecting people to listen and follow him, and bring unnecessary loss of blood and life."

"This is no time for separation of the black man. Lives are at stake, and their fight for justice and equality can be successful only through divine guidance, which can be provided only by Muhammad."

Philbert, who was accompanied by Chicagoan James Shabazz, said that Malcolm's actions were caused by "resentment over the suspension given him by Mr. Muhammad after he spoke against Muhammad's orders."

"Now, Malcolm resorts to slander, slurs and intimidation of Mr. Muhammad. He will do or say anything to gain mention and news coverage."

"My brother has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women. He now seeks to prevail upon women who, unfortunately, were weak and went contrary to Islam."

Philbert, who said he has not talked to his brother since before the suspension, said

that "there will not be two Islams. There is only one and Muhammad is its leader."

"The others are traitors and undesirable."

King Views Malcolm X As Tragic

Asked his reaction to Malcolm X's formation of the Black Nationalist Party and (his) call for Negroes to arm themselves, Rev. Martin Luther King told the Amsterdam News:

"It would be very tragic, at this stage, for the Negro to use violence in any form. Many of our opponents would be delighted.

"However, if we would take up arms, it would give them an excuse to kill up a lot of us."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Amsterdam News

EDITION _____

DATE 3-28-64

PAGE 35

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Cassius Clay Rebuffs Malcolm

Champ Decides To Stay With "Non-Violent" Muslims

NEW YORK—Brother Malcolm's pledge of violence in his planned militant nationalist organization has been rebuffed both by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslim movement from which Malcolm withdrew, and by world heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, who was Malcolm's most prominent convert to the Islam group.

Also, Malcolm's prediction of "more violence on the racial scene" and his urging of Negroes to arm themselves and "fight back in self-defense" brought angry outbursts from some civil rights leaders and he may have little or no support from other national organizations.

At his home in Phoenix, Ariz., Muhammad predicted that Negroes will not resort to violence in their quest for equal justice.

"My people are more adapted to peace," said the 35-year-old Muslim leader. They believe in peaceful solutions."

Expressing surprise at Malcolm's split with his group, Muhammad said, "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the nation of Islam. Every one of the Muslims admired him. But what he has said makes it definite. He has deviated."

CLAY'S STATEMENT

In Chicago, Cassius Clay op-

posed Malcolm's suggestion that Negroes organize "rifle clubs".

"I'm against that," he said. There are too many rifles. There are too many airplanes. I hate nobody. Hate is ignorance. I don't believe in violence."

Declaring that he is a true follower of Elijah Muhammad, Clay said: "I face east five times a day."

"SUICIDAL" SAYS FARMER

Malcolm's avowed campaign of violence could be "ultimately suicidal", in the opinion of James Farmer, national director of CORE, who said:

"Brother Malcolm needs to explain what he means by self-defense. He says people have a right to shoot a dog set to attack them behind, every dog is a policeman. Does he mean using guns against the police?"

"If he does, he is asking for race war which can only end in anguish for the nation. It is utterly foolish. In a race war we simply would not have a chance of victory."

NAACP DEFERS STAND

The National Office of NAACP here has made no official statement yet on Malcolm's plan, saying only that "as of the moment there is no official comment."

THE NEW CRUSADER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Weekly Edition

Date 3-28-64

Page 2 Col. 4

Editor:
BALM L. LEAVELL, Jr.

CHICAGO OFFICE

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Hitlers Quislings Lead U. S. Gas Chamber War On Negroes

Even while President Lyndon B. Johnson is calling on Americans to "turn away from those....who pour venom into our nation's blood stream," a number of former Nazi quislings and alleged murders, now comfortably domiciled in the United States, are intensifying their campaign of race and religious hatred among the foreign-born of Chicago and many other communities.

All of them collaborated with Adolf Hitler in the mass murder of European minorities.

All of them are collaborating today with the fanatic groups of the far right in resisting the American Negro's quest for justice and in the dissemination of their imported brand of anti-semitism.

Most of them are non-Germans who helped to betray their countries for a price Hitler chose to pay them.

How any of them could gain admission to the United States in view of their blood-drenched records remains an unanswered question.

How they manage to escape extradition is another mystery, heavily shrouded by international connivance.

At least one of the fugitive terrorists is a resident of Chicago.

Active in several racist hate movements, he is 59-year-old Meclis Pashkivicius, alias Mikas Povilionis.

The citizens of his native town of Ukmerge, Lithuania, have addressed an appeal to the people of Chicago, urging Pashkivicius' extradition.

They charge that as a quisling security officer during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania, he "organized and took a direct part" in the massacres of Lithuanians in the Ukmerge area.

Pashkivicius denies it.

He admits, however, that he was a "Lithuanian police sergeant" during the Nazi occupation.

Nor does he deny that he entered the United States, under the Mikas Povilionis alias.

Pashkivicius' denials notwithstanding,

standing, documentary evidence submitted to United States authorities shows that he was much more than a "Lithuanian sergeant"; that, in fact, he was "the Commander of the District Security".

The charge that Pashkivicius participated in the Nazi ordered mass murders is also supported by unchallengeable documentation.

Pashkivicius lives comfortably in a segregated Chicago neighborhood. He is in the forefront of a movement to keep it barred to Negroes.

Some of the other Nazis and non-German quislings living luxuriantly in the United States and envenoming the "nation's bloodstreams" are:

Andrija Artukovic, San Jose, California. As a Hitler collaborator, he was known as "the Adolf Eichmann of Croatia".

Unchallengeable evidence supports the charge that tens of thousands of people were murdered, mutilated and starved in concentration camps under orders issued by him.

Dr. Gustav Hilger, Washington, D.C. Hilger was a deputy to Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim Ribbentrop, who was hanged as a war criminal at Nuremberg in 1948.

Nicola Malaxa, New York City. A former business partner of Hermann Goering, he financed and masterminded Nazi mass killings in Romania.

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3 THE NEW CRUSADER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-28-64

Edition: WEEKLY

Author:

Editor: BALM L. LEAVELL, JR.

Title:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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Emanuel Jasiuk, address unknown. A Russian traitor, he served Hitler by overseeing the murder of his countrymen.

Viorel Trifla, alias Bishop Valerian of the "Romanian Orthodox Episcopate" in the United States. Now a resident of Grass Lake, Michigan, he is charged with the murder of 8,000 Romanians in 1941.

Bergis Hutyrcek, New Brunswick, N.J. He was executioner-in-chief of inmates at Koldichev Concentration Camp in Russia.

Franciszek Kusciel, Brooklyn, New York. A former officer in the Polish Army, he turned traitor to

become the lieutenant of Nazi mass murderer Heinrich Himmler.

Other Nazi quislings, their nationalities, and their known addresses in the United States or Canada follows:

Alfred Skrodella, Estonian, Hamilton, Ontario.

Karl Linnae, Estonian, Greenlawn, New York.

Jurgis Bobelis, Lithuanian, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Kazimieras Palciauskas, former mayor of Kansas, Lithuanian, U. S. address unknown.

Stasys Zakevicius, alias S. Zy-mantas, Lithuanian, Los Angeles, California.

Jonas Slepetya, Lithuanian, Long Island City, New York.

Juozas Ambrazevius, alias Bra-zaitis, Lithuanian, Brooklyn, New York.

Anthana Impuevicius, Lithua-nian, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm Answers Brother's Charges

Charges and countercharges were still flying today between Malcolm X, defecting Black Muslim leader, and his brother, Philbert X, minister of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim Mosque of Islam in a four-city Michigan area.

Malcolm issued a new statement here in replying to Philbert's accusation from Chicago that he was trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life." Philbert had added, "He may be a victim of great mental illness."

"Fear of what I might say has caused this attack by my brother," Malcolm declared. "Is this mental illness something quite recent? Or was I mentally ill when I organized and set up the mosque over which my own brother now presides?"

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 NEW YORK POST

Date: 3/28/64
Edition: WEEKEND BLUE FINA
Author:
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

UNDER INVESTIGATION
Character: SM-NOI
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Malcolm X Explains His Rifle Statement

By GEORGE TODD

"People have a right to defend themselves," declared Malcolm X at a Sunday rent strike rally in Milbank Center, 33 W. 118th St.

"It says so in the Constitution," the fiery independent Muslim leader told the 250 persons in the audience as he called on a "brother" to confirm the fact that the second amendment guaranteed this right.

Malcolm X explained he merely wanted to clarify an earlier statement to the effect that black men should buy rifles and shotguns for their own defense.

"In cases where the government has proved itself unwilling or unable to defend them, Negroes have a right to defend themselves. I am indicting the government for not defending us. If the government can't do it then let us do it ourselves," said Malcolm X.

He cited last summer's church bombing incident in Birmingham in which four little girls were killed, and blamed police authorities for not protecting Negro citizens.

Gray Blasts Police

Jesse Gray, head of the Community Council on Housing which sponsored the rally, made a scathing denunciation of Commissioner Michael J. Murphy and the Police Department which he accused as being "corrupt as slumlords!"

He charged that police corruption "is too obvious not to be detected," and said that in many cases they are not to be found when needed because they are too busy "shaking down a prostitute for a dollar."

"We call for the dismissal of Commissioner Murphy," he shouted and the crowd cheered.

Gray also blasted Governor Rockefeller for his failure to support the \$1.50 an hour wage minimum in Albany last week, and Mayor Wagner, his favorite target, was again black-balled from election activities in Harlem.

The Mayor was not only held responsible for bad housing but in breaking up the unity among Negro leaders on the school boycott issue, Gray asserted.

"Everybody in Harlem should stop paying rent until we get better education for our children," the Harlem rent strike leader suggested.

Malcolm X, who made it clear he was still a Muslim despite his recent break with Elijah Muhammad, said he was willing to work with any Negro group in an effort to find solutions to the problems in the black community.

He said the white man should realize that anything good for the black community is good for his community too.

While Malcolm X spoke about solutions to community problems he later indicated that the ultimate solution lies in a back-to-Africa movement.

On integration, he said he could never accept it. "I couldn't integrate with my enemy, and I know who my enemy is."

He said he was going to stop talking about Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, whose passive resistance philosophy he has often criticized.

"But," he added, "you tell him to stop talking about me."

Malcolm X pledged full support of the rent strike movement and the fight for improvement of the educational system for Negroes.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY

Amsterdam News

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3/28/64

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King and Malcolm X Join in Protest Vow

Move Hinges On Filibuster

Special to N. Y. Journal-American

WASHINGTON, March 27.

—Two Negro leaders who are often poles apart viewed the Senate's civil rights debate and agreed there will be Negro demonstrations in Washington when the debate turns into a filibuster.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the non-violent Southern Christian Leadership Conference, foresaw "direct action" by Negroes in Washington and throughout the South if the expected filibuster by Southern senators threatens senate approval of the House-passed bill.

Even if the bill does pass, Dr. King predicted during an interview in the Senate conference room, there will be a summer of demonstrations to "test" it in "every community and every state across the South."

If it fails to pass, he warned, "our nation will be in for a dark night of social disruption."

Malcolm X, leader of a militant Black Nationalist movement, said the very start of a filibuster would produce a "spontaneous march" by "groups of Negroes who will be ready to camp out in Washington until this thing comes to a head."

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NY Journal American

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DATE 3-27-68

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Malcolm X predicted that a new Negro march off Washington "won't be so orderly" as the one staged here last Summer by civil rights groups.

Malcolm X said he was "willing to support anything the Negro believes will help solve his problem."

"But I can tell you right now this bill won't solve it," he added. "You can't legislate good will . . . If this bill is passed, it will never be enforced. Enforcing it would bring a civil war to the South and race war to the North."

Malcolm X declined to discuss what methods he will advocate to speed equal rights. He maintained at one point that "the Negro is within his rights to use any means to remove injustice," but said at another point that "the Negro never initiates violence; he only defends himself."

FRUITFUL CONFERENCE

Dr. King and Malcolm X watched the Senate debate from separate points in the gallery. Then they met reporters at separate times in a conference room off the Senate floor.

Dr. King opened his press conference with a low-keyed report on a "most fruitful conference" he had held with the bipartisan leadership supporting the civil rights bill, including the majority whip, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.)

Apparently as a result of that talk, Dr. King steered clear of any suggestions that the bill be made even stronger than it already is. But the Negro leader said a "direct action program" had been agreed to when he met during the morning with the 15 leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Later, he said he was impelled by "realism" to say that if a bill fails to pass, it will be "very difficult to keep our struggle disciplined and non-violent."

Malcolm X sat silently on a sofa in the back of the conference room while Dr. King talked to reporters. When the meeting ended, the two leaders talked quietly, then left the conference room together.

From Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service



MARTIN LUTHER KING AND MALCOLM X
Agree to "Act" in Any Civil Rights Filibuster

Wirephoto from AP

Malcolm Outflanks Dr. King On Capitol Battleground

By TED KNAP

Of the World-Telegram Staff

WASHINGTON, March 27—"Well, Malcolm, good to see you," said Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"Good to see you," replied Malcolm X.

"Hold it," called photographers as the Negro leaders shook hands. Thus was recorded a picture that could wave the flag of black nationalism before those opposing or uncertain about the civil rights bill.

Malcolm got there by slipping into Dr. King's press conference and then stepping into his path. It happened yesterday after the Senate rebuffed a move to sidetrack the civil rights bill into committee. Dr. King and Malcolm had been in separate sections of the visitors' gallery.

A Seat in the Back of the Room

Just off the Senate chamber is a conference room where Dr. King had agreed to meet the press. Before he got there, Malcolm got past the police guard and took a seat in the back. Reporters waiting for Dr. King quizzed Malcolm.

"A Negro is within his right to use any method to remove these injustices (of racial discrimination)," Malcolm said. He went on to defend the Congolese who killed whites because "They looked like Belgians" and the Jacksonville Negroes who attacked a news photographer because "How can you tell a Northern photographer from a Southerner?"

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"You never distinguish when you're at war," Malcolm said.

Then attention turned from the militant advocate of black supremacy to the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"My philosophy is non-violent," said Dr. King. "I think violence in our struggle would be impractical and immoral."

Action to Answer a Filibuster

But he made it clear he's no Uncle Tom.

"If there is a prolonged filibuster," he said, "it will be necessary to engage in a creative direct-action program to dramatize the blatant injustice to Negroes. At first we will try to persuade with our words. If we cannot persuade with our words, we will try to persuade with our deeds."

If the rights bill fails, Dr. King foresees a "dark night of social disruption" and civil disobedience.

"Realism impels me to admit that if this civil rights bill is not passed it will be more difficult for us who believe in non-violence to keep the demonstrations non-violent," he said.

If the bill passes, Dr. King said there still will be demonstrations this summer to test compliance.

'Absolute and Full Freedom'

"Oh, no, we will not be content. We cannot stop until we have absolute and full freedom," he said.

After the conference, Dr. King left by one door and Malcolm stepped in front of him out of another. If it



United Press International Telephoto

Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X shake hands in Senate conference room.

bothered Dr. King, he did not show it. He spoke first, held out his hand and smiled.

~~As cameras flashed,~~ Malcolm wisecracked to Dr. King, "Now you're going to get investigated."

F B I

Date: 3/27/64

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971-38)

FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-93)

NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

On 3/24/64, [REDACTED] reliable, made available the following information:

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was in contact with [REDACTED], and during this contact, [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] he had received a letter from the Chief (believed referring to MALCOLM X), and that "he" (MALCOLM) has done a lot of talking that is silly as usual. ELIJAH asked [REDACTED] what [REDACTED] had done about the house and [REDACTED] stated that they talked to the attorney, who said it was not much to get him (MALCOLM) out of the house. The attorney told them that all that was necessary is to get the one who gave him (MALCOLM) permission to stay there to sign a letter.

[REDACTED] has such a letter now, and all [REDACTED] has to do is to throw him (MALCOLM) out and then they can take proceedings immediately. [REDACTED] they wrote a letter to the automobile company that covers the insurance on the car and told them to change the title and

- 3 - Bureau (RAM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-35635) (RAM)
- ⑤ - New York City (105-7809) (RAM)
 - (1) - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)
 - (1) - NY 100-152759 (MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.)
 - (1) - [REDACTED]
 - (1) - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Boston (97-145) (RAM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (25-26094) (RAM)
- 2 - Phoenix
 - (1 - PX 105-931)

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that the insurance is to be taken out of the name of the mosque as the mosque would not be responsible, and a copy of the letter was sent to MALCOLM.

██████████ said the car (used by MALCOLM) was bought in the name of the mosque and then he (MALCOLM) paid the note on the car and he buys the gas and oil. ██████████ MALCOLM's car and two others were purchased in the temple's name, and that any car can then be put in the name of the individual who has the car, so what the temple must do is to write to the insurance company and tell them they want this particular car transferred over into his (MALCOLM's) name, and then he will have full responsibility of the car. The broker of the company suggested it be handled this way and sent ██████████ the forms to be used.

67C
ELIJAH told ██████████ that he heard some of "his" (MALCOLM's) disciples were going around the restaurant and ██████████ "Yes, they were around saying that they heard 26 brothers were going to go around and hurt someone." ELIJAH asked if anyone of his followers had made any threats and ██████████ answered, "No."

ELIJAH said he had a letter, and they charged ██████████ with some of the others, threatening to kill him (MALCOLM). ██████████ said "he" (MALCOLM) wasn't telling the truth and was only mad because they at the temple are reading the letter ELIJAH sent out plus the "New York Times."

██████████ are the ones MALCOLM is condemning about misappropriation (of funds), and is telling the reason they didn't buy the theater was because of this misappropriation. ELIJAH stated "he" (MALCOLM) would have to prove that and it was just talk.

██████████ the one MALCOLM always used to tell ELIJAH about, and the one that taught in Brooklyn, popped up and is now with MALCOLM 100%. ██████████ got up last Sunday in the temple and said ██████████ wasn't going to drag anyone's name through the mud and tried to continue to talk, when ██████████ took the microphone away ██████████

PX 105-93

67C [redacted] called the next day and told [redacted] wanted to see [redacted] would be at the Theresa Hotel with MALCOLM.

ELIJAH told [redacted] to let [redacted] go and anyone else even leaning that way or who says one word in that direction.

67C [redacted] commented that [redacted] police had started harassing the brothers from the mosque, (thinking they were with MALCOLM). [redacted] when MALCOLM had the rally with about 1,000 to 1,500 people at the Rockland Palace. [redacted] called the manager and told [redacted] they (the Muslims) had nothing to do with the group and were not responsible for anything. [redacted] advised the Police Department the same thing.

ELIJAH told [redacted] did right.

67C [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] was there (in New York) on Sunday, and MALCOLM called [redacted] and wanted to talk [redacted] but [redacted] hung up on MALCOLM. ELIJAH said [redacted] was doing alright.

67C [redacted] told ELIJAH that MALCOLM had been to Philadelphia and Boston, and that he was only getting the weak ones. [redacted] MALCOLM was getting only the hypocrits, those out of the mosque, those a little dissatisfied, and just the weak ones who are smoking, drinking, and going out with each other. ELIJAH said let him (MALCOLM) go, he will never have any success.

67C ELIJAH asked [redacted] ever got a Saviour's Day gift and [redacted] said [redacted] was alright. ELIJAH told [redacted] to take "one from the poor" on the first as a gift. [redacted] thanked ELIJAH.

Phoenix has not included the above in a letterhead memorandum as the source involved could be readily identified, and it is believed this information should be used for intelligence purposes.